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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA:

BEING A

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION

UNDERTAKEN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H.B.M.'S GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS

1849—1855.

BY

HENRY BARTH, PH.D., D.C.L.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND ASIATIC SOCIETIES,

&c. &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

AFRICA.

CHAPTER LIII.

DEPARTURE FOR TIMBÚKTU. — THE HILLY NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF BÓRNU.

THE death of Mr. Overweg, happening at a period when the prospects of the mission just began to brighten, induced me to relinquish my original plan of once more trying my fortune in Kánem and on the N.E. shores of the Tsád, as an undertaking too dangerous for me in my isolated position, and the results of which could not reasonably be expected to be great, even with the protection of a small force, in a disturbed country, in comparison with the dangers that accompanied it. Besides, such was the character of the horde of the Welád Slimán and their mode of warfare, that after having received the sanction of the British Government for my proceedings, and being authorised by them to carry out the objects of the mission as at first projected, I could scarcely

venture to associate myself again with such a lawless set of people. I therefore determined to direct my whole attention towards the west, in order to explore the countries situated on the middle course of the great western river the I'sa, or the so-called Niger, and at the same time to establish friendly relations with the powerful ruler of the empire of Sókotó, and to obtain full permission for myself or other Europeans to visit the south-eastern provinces of his empire, especially A'damáwa, which I had been prevented from fully exploring by the real or pretended fear of the governor of that province, to grant such a permission without the sanction of his liege lord.

The treaty which I had at length succeeded in getting signed by the sheikh of Bórnu and his vizier on the last of August, together with a map of all the parts of Central Africa which I had as yet visited, and containing at the same time all the information which I had been able to collect concerning the neighbouring provinces*, I had forwarded home in the middle of October, addressing at the same time the request to H. M.'s consul at Tripoli, to send me, by a special courier to Zínder, a certain sum of money. The road which I had before me was long, leading through the territories of a great many dif-

* This is the map which was published by Mr. Petermann, in the account of the progress of the Expedition to Central Africa, adding from Mr. Richardson's and Mr. Overweg's journals, which I had sent home, an outline of those districts visited by themselves alone.

ferent chiefs, and partly even of powerful princes; and as soon as I should have left Zínder behind me, I could not expect to find fresh supplies, the sum of money which I had received on my return from Bagírmi being almost all spent in paying the debts which we had incurred when left without means. A sum of 400 dollars, besides a box containing choice English ironware, had been some time before consigned to a Tebú of the name of A'hmed Háj 'Alí Billama: but instead of proceeding at once with the caravan with which he had left Fezzán, as he ought to have done, he staid behind in his native town Bilma to celebrate a marriage. The caravan, with about twenty horses and a hundred camels, arrived, on the 10th of November, without bringing me anything, except the proof of such reckless conduct; and as I could not afford to lose any more time in waiting for this parcel, I left orders that it should be forwarded to Zínder as soon as it should arrive. But never received it.

Nearly three fourths of the money in cash which we had received being required to pay off our debts, we had been obliged to give away a great portion even of the articles of merchandise, or presents, in order to reward friends who for so long a period had displayed their hospitality towards us, and rendered us services almost without the slightest recompense; so that, on the whole, it was only under the most pressing circumstances I could think of undertaking a journey to the west with the means then

at my disposal. But, very luckily, a handsome sum of money was on the road to Zínder; I also expected to receive at that place a few new instruments, as the greater part of my thermometers were broken, and I had no instrument left for making hypsometrical observations.

An inroad on a large scale, of a tribe of the Tawárek, or Kindín, as they are called in Bórnu, under their chief, Músa, into the province of Múniyó, through which lay my road to Zínder, delayed my departure for a considerable time. This inroad of the hordes of the desert claimed a greater interest than usual, especially when considered in connection with the facts which I have set forth on a former occasion*, the Tawárek or Berbers having originally formed an integral part of the settled population of Bórnu. These Díggera of Músa, who appear to have occupied these tracts at a former period, had evidently formed the firm intention of settling again in the fine valleys of the province of Múniyó, which are so favourable to the breeding of camels, that even when the country was in the hands of the Bórnu people they used to send their herds there.

At length, after a long series of delays, the road to the west became open, and I took leave of the sheikh on the 19th of November, in a private audience, none but the vizier being present. I then found reason to flatter myself that, from the manner in

* See Vol. II. p. 272.

which I had explained to them the motives which had induced me to undertake a journey to the chiefs of the Fúlbe or Felláta, there were no grounds of suspicion remaining between us, although they made it a point that I should avoid going by Kanó; and even when I rejected their entreaty to remain with them after my successful return from Timbúktu, they found nothing to object, as I assured them that I might be more useful to them as a faithful friend in my own country, than by remaining with them in Bórnu. At that time I thought that Her Majesty's Government would be induced to send a consul to Bórnu, and, in consequence, I raised their expectations on that point. But matters in Bórnu greatly changed during my absence in the west, and, in consequence of the temporary interregnum of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán and the overthrow and murder of the vizier, the state of affairs there assumed a less settled aspect. I concluded my leave-taking by requesting my kind hosts, once more, to send a copy of the history of Edrís Alawóma, the most celebrated Bórnu king, to the British Government, as I was sure that, in their desire to elucidate the history and geography of these regions, this would be an acceptable present.

The vizier, in particular, took great interest in my enterprise, admiring the confidence which I expressed, that the sheikh el Bakáy, in Timbúktu, of whom I had formed an opinion merely from hearsay, would receive me kindly and give me his full

protection; and I did not fail to represent to them that, if the English should succeed in opening these great highroads of the interior for peaceful intercourse, it would be highly advantageous even for themselves, as they would thus be enabled to obtain those articles which they were in want of from the regions of Western Africa, such as kola nuts and gold, with much less expense and greater security; and they were thus induced to endeavour to derive a profit even from this my enterprise. The sheikh, who had formed the intention of undertaking a journey to Mekka, wanted me to procure for him some gold in Timbúktu; but, uncertain as were my prospects, and difficult as would be my situation, I could not guarantee such a result, which my character as a messenger of the British Government would scarcely allow. The sheikh sent me two very fine camels as a present, which stood the fatigue of the journey marvellously, one of them only succumbing on my return journey, three days from Kúkawa, when, seeing that it was unable to proceed, I gave it as a present to a native mallem. Having finished my letters, I fixed my departure for the 25th of November, without waiting any longer for the caravan of the Arabs, which was soon to leave for Zínder, and which, though it held out the prospect of a little more security, would have exposed me to a great deal of inconvenience and delay.

Thursday, November 25th, 1852. It was half-past ten in the morning when I left the town of Kúkawa, which

for upwards of twenty months I had regarded as my head quarters, and as a place upon which, in any emergency, I might safely fall back upon; for although I even then expected that I should be obliged to return to this place once more, and even of my own free will made my plans accordingly, yet I was convinced that, in the course of my proceedings, I should not be able to derive any further aid from the friendship and protection of the sheikh of Bórnu, and I likewise fully understood that circumstances might oblige me to make my return by the western coast. For I never formed such a scheme voluntarily, as I regarded it of much greater importance for the government in whose service I had the honour to be employed, to survey the course of the great river from Timbúktu downwards, than to attempt, if I should have succeeded in reaching that place, to come out on the other side of the continent, while I was fully aware that, even under the most favourable circumstances, in going, I should be unable to keep along the river, on account of its being entirely in the hands of the lawless tribes of Tawárek, whom I should not be able to pass before I had obtained the protection of a powerful chief in those quarters. Meanwhile, well aware from my own experience how far man generally remains in arrear of his projects, in my letter to Government I represented my principal object as only to reach the Niger at the town of Sáy, while all beyond that was extremely uncertain.

My little troop consisted of the following indivi-

duals. First, Mohammed el Gatróni, the same faithful young lad who had accompanied me as a servant all the way from Fezzán to Kúkawa, and whom, on my starting for A'damáwa, I had sent home, very reluctantly, with my despatches and with the late Mr. Richardson's effects, on condition that, after having staid some time with his wife and children, he should return. He had lately come back with the same caravan which had brought me the fresh supplies. Faithful to my promise, I had mounted him on horseback, and made him my chief servant, with a salary of four Spanish dollars per month — and a present of fifty dollars besides, in the event of my enterprise being successfully terminated. My second servant, and the one upon whom, next to Mohammed, I relied most, was 'Abd-Alláhi, or rather, as the name is pronounced in this country, 'Abd-Alléhi, a young Shúwa from Kótokó, whom I had taken into my service on my journey to Bagírmi, and who, never having been in a similar situation, and not having dealt before with Europeans, at first had caused me a great deal of trouble, especially as he was laid up with the small pox for forty days during my stay in that country. He was a young man of very pleasing manners and straightforward character, and, as a good and pious Moslim, formed a useful link between myself and the Mohammedans; but he was sometimes extremely whimsical, and, after having written out his contract for my whole journey to the west and back, I had the greatest trouble in making

him adhere to his own stipulations. I had unbounded control over my men, because I agreed with them that they should not receive any part of their salary on the road, but the whole on my successful return to Haúsa. ʿAbd-Alláhi was likewise mounted on horseback, but had only a salary of two dollars, and a present of twenty dollars. Then came Mohammed ben A'hmed, the fellow of whom I have already spoken on my journey to Kánem, and who, though a person of very indifferent abilities, and at the same time very self-conceited on account of his Islám, was yet valued by me for his honesty, while he, on his part, having been left by his countrymen and co-religionists in a very destitute situation, became attached to myself.

I had two more freemen in my service, one, a brother of Mohammed el Gatróni, who was only to accompany me as far as Zínder; the other an Arab from the borders of Egypt, and called Slimán el Ferjáni, a fine, strong man, who had once formed part of the band of the Welád Slimán in Kánem, and who might have been of great service to me, from his knowledge of the use of firearms and his bodily strength; but he was not to be trusted, and deserted me in a rather shameful manner a little beyond Kátsena.

Besides these freemen, I had in my service two liberated slaves, Dýrregu, a Haúsa boy, and A'bbega, a Marghí lad, who had been set free by the late Mr. Overweg, —the same young lads whom on my re-

turn to Europe I brought to this country, where they promised to lay in a store of knowledge, and who on the whole have been extremely useful to me, although A'bbega not unfrequently found some other object

A'bbega. Dýrregu.

more interesting than my camels, which were intrusted to his care, and which in consequence he lost repeatedly.

In addition to these servants, I had attached to my

person another man, as a sort of broker, and who was to serve as a mediator between me and the natives; this was the Méjebrí 'Alí el A'geren, a native of Jálo, the small commercial place near Aújila, which has recently been visited and described by the Abbé Hamilton. He had travelled for many years in Negroland, and had traversed in various directions the region inclosed between Sókotó, Kanó, Baúchi, Záriya, and Gónja. But for the present, on my outset from Bórnu, I had not made any fixed arrangements with this man; but in the event of his accompanying me beyond Sókotó, he was to have two horses and a monthly salary of nine dollars, beside being permitted to trade on his own account. Such an arrangement, although rather expensive to me considering the means at my disposal, was of very great importance if the man did his duty, he being able, in his almost independent situation, to render me extraordinary assistance in overcoming many difficulties; but, as an Arab, I only put full confidence in him as long as circumstances were propitious, while his wavering character as soon as dangers began to surround me did not put me in any way out of countenance.

These people, besides an Arab, a so-called sheríf, from Fás, who was going as far as Zínder, and who had likewise attached himself to my small party, composed the band with which I cheerfully set out on my journey towards the west, on the 25th of November, being accompanied out of the town by the

Háj Edrís whom I have had frequent occasion to mention. In order to get everything in readiness, and to be sure of having neglected no precaution to secure full success to my enterprise, I followed my old principle, and pitched my tent for the first day only a couple of miles distant from the gate, near the second hamlet of Kalíluwá, in the scanty shade of a baúre, when I felt unbounded delight in finding myself once more in the open country, after a residence of a couple of months in the town, where I had but little bodily exercise. Indulging in the most pleasing anticipations as to the success of the enterprise upon which I was then embarking, I stretched myself out at full length on my noble lion-skin, which formed my general couch during the day, and which was delightfully cool.

Friday, November 26th. This was one of the coldest, or perhaps the very coldest night which I experienced in the whole of my journeys since entering the fertile plains of Negroland, the thermometer in the morning, a little before sunrise, showing only 9° Fahr. above the freezing point. The interior of Africa, so far removed from the influence of the sea (which is warmer in winter than the *terra firma*), forms, with regard to the cold season, an insulated cool space in the tropical regions, in opposition to the warm climate of the West Indies and the coasts and islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans. We were all greatly affected by the cold. But it did us a great deal of good, invigorating our frames after the enervating

influence of the climate of Kúkawa. We did not set out, however, before the sun had begun to impart to the atmosphere a more genial character, when we proceeded on our journey westward. The country which I traversed, passing by the frequented well of Beshér, although already known to me from previous travels, now presented a very different aspect from what it had done on my first journey from Kanó to Kúkawa,—those bleak and dreary hollows of black argillaceous soil being now changed into the richest corn-fields, and waving with a luxuriant crop of masákuwá, while the fields of small millet (*Pennisetum*) stood in stubble.

We encamped near the well Súwa-búwa, or, as it was called by others, Kabubíya, on the gentle slope of the rising ground towards the north, from whence the busy scene round the well, of cattle, asses, goats, and sheep being watered in regular succession, presented an interesting and animated spectacle, more especially, coming after and contrasted with the dull life of the capital. The well measured fifteen fathoms in depth; and the inhabitants were so on the alert for gain that they thought it right to sell us the precious element for watering our camels. My whole party were in the best spirits, cheerful and full of expectation of the novelties, both in human life and nature, that were to be disclosed in the unknown regions in the far west. In order to protect ourselves from the cold, which had so much affected us the preceding night, we set fire to the whole of a large decayed tree, which, with

great exertion, we dragged from some distance close to our tent, and thus enjoyed a very moderate degree of temperature in our open encampment.

Saturday, November 27th. I now entered Koyám, with its straggling villages, its well-cultivated fields, and its extensive forests of middle-sized mimosas, which afford food to the numerous herds of camels constituting the wealth of this African tribe, who in former times, before the Bórnu dynasty was driven away from its ancient capital Njímiye by the rival family of the Bulála*, led a nomadic life on the pasture-grounds of Kánem. Having thus traversed the district called Wódomá, we encamped about noon, at a short distance from a well in the midst of the forest, belonging to a district called Gágadá. The well was twenty-five fathoms deep, and was frequented during the night by numerous herds of cattle from different parts of the neighbourhood.

While making the round in the night in order to see whether my people were on the look-out, as a great part of the security of a traveller in these regions depends on the vigilance exercised by night, I succeeded in carrying away secretly the arms from all my people, even from the warlike Ferjáni Arab, which caused great amusement and hubbub when they awoke in the morning, and enabled me to teach them a useful lesson of being more careful for the future.

* See Vol. II. p. 276.

Having taken an early breakfast — an arrangement which in this cold weather, when the appetite even of the European traveller in these regions is greatly sharpened, we found very acceptable—we pursued our journey, passing through the district of Garánda, with deep sandy soil, and rich in corn, cattle, and camels. A great proportion of the population consisted of Shúwa, or native Arabs, who had immigrated from the East. As we proceeded on our march, the trees gradually assumed a richer character, plainly indicating that we were approaching a more favoured district. There was the ngilísi, or haméd, a tree very common over the whole eastern part of Negroland, with its small leaves bursting forth from its branches ; the karáge, or gáwo, now appearing as a small tree of scanty growth, further on spreading out with a large and luxuriant crown not ceding to the ârdéb or tamarind-tree ; and the kórna, which, extending over the whole of these immense regions, is remarkable for bearing almost everywhere the same name.* The underwood was formed by the kálgo and gónda bush, which latter, however, did not seem to bear here that delicious fruit which had so frequently served to refresh my failing energies during my marches through other districts ; and cold as had been the night, the sun even now was very powerful during the mid-day hours, there being a difference of 40°. November 28th.

* See Vol. III. p. 348, note.

We encamped after a march of about thirteen miles, having by mistake exchanged our westerly direction for a south-westerly one, near the well called Kagza *, and were very hospitably and kindly treated by a patriotic old man, a citizen of the old capital or birni of Ghasr-éggomo, who, when that splendid town was taken by the Fúlbe or Felláta, in the year 1809, had fled to Wádáy, and had lived there several years among the Welád Ráshid, waiting for better times. This good man described to me, with a deep feeling of sorrow, the taking of that large and wealthy town, under the command of the Fúlbe chiefs Malá-Rída, Mukhtár, and Hanníma, when the king, with his whole host of courtiers and his numerous army, fled through the eastern gate while the enemy was entering the western one, and the populous place was delivered up to all the horrors accompanying the sacking of a town. What with the pleasant character of the country and the friendly disposition of our host, I should have enjoyed my open encampment extremely, if I had not been suffering all this time very severely from sore legs, ever since my return from Bagírmi, when I had to cross so many rivers and was so frequently wet through.†

* The depth of the well measured twenty-two fathoms.

† This is a complaint to which almost every European in these climes is exposed, and from which Clapperton suffered very severely. I found the best remedy to be mai-kadeña butter, which is very cooling; but in the eastern part of Bórnu it is rarely to be met with.

Pursuing still a south-westerly direction, our march led us through a district called Rédaní in regard to which, the state of the cultivation of the ground (the géro, the wealth of this country, lying in large heaps or "bagga" on the fields) and the uninterrupted succession of straggling hamlets left the impression of ease and comfort. But we had great difficulty in finding the right track among the number of small foot-paths diverging in every direction; and in avoiding the northern route, which we knew would lead us to a part of the river where we should not be able to cross it, we had, by mistake, chosen a too southerly path, which, if pursued, would have led us to Gújeba. While traversing this fertile district, we were astonished at the repeated descents which we had to make, and which convinced us that these sandy swells constitute a perfect separation between the komádugu and the Tsád on this side. The district of Rédaní was followed by another, called Kangálla, and, after a short tract of forest, a third one, of the name of Meggi, consisting mostly of argillaceous soil, and not nearly so interesting as Rédaní. We encamped at length, near a group of three wells, where, once a week, a small market is held. In the adjacent hollow a pond is formed in the rainy season. The wells were twenty fathoms in depth. Monday, November 29th.

The district through which we passed today, in a north-westerly direction, seemed to be rich in pasture-grounds and cattle. It was Tuesday, November 30th.

at the time inhabited by a number of Tebú of the tribe of the Dáza, or rather Búlgudá, who in former times having been driven from A'gadem, Bélkashí Farri, and Saw by the Tawárek, had found refuge in this district, where they preserve their nomadic habits to some extent, and by no means contribute to the security of the country. Having been warned that along the road no water was to be had, we encamped a little outside the track, near the farming village of Gógoró, where the women were busy threshing or pounding their corn, which was lying in large heaps, while the men were idling about. They were cheerful Kanúri people, who reside here only during the time of the harvest, and when that is over, return to their village Dímmarruwá. The ground hereabout was full of ants; and we had to take all possible care, in order to protect our luggage against the attacks of this voracious insect.

Wednesday, December 1st. We now approached the komádugu of Bórnu, presenting with its network of channels and thick forests, a difficult passage after the rainy season. Fine groups of trees began to appear; and droves of Guinea fowl enlivened the landscape. In order to give the camels a good feed on the rich vegetation produced in this favourable locality, we made even a shorter march than usual, encamping near a dead branch of the river, which is called Kulúgu Gússum, S.E. from the celebrated lake of Múggobí, which in former times, during the glorious period of the Bórnu empire, consti-

tuted one of the chief celebrities and attractions of the country, but which at present, being overwhelmed by the surrounding swamps, serves only to interrupt the communication between the western and eastern provinces. Allured by the pleasing character of the place, I stretched myself out in the shade of a group of majestic tamarind trees, while the man whom I had taken with me as a guide, from the village where we had passed the night, gave me some valuable information with regard to the divisions of the Koyám, the present inhabitants of this region east of the komádugu, which had been conquered from the native tribe of the Só. He told me that the Kíye, or, as the name is generally pronounced in Bórnu, the Kay (the tribe which I have mentioned in my historical account of Bórnu)*, originally formed the principal stock of the Koyám, together with whom the Máguni and the Fárferé constitute the principal divisions, the chief of the latter clan bearing the title of Fúgo. The Temágheri, of whom I have also had occasion to speak, and the Ngalága, fractions of both of whom are settled here, he described as Kánembú. But, besides these tribes, a great proportion of Tebú have mixed with the ancient inhabitants of this district, probably since the time of the king Edrís Alawóma, who forced the Tebú settled in the northern districts of Kánem to emigrate into Bórnu. In connection with the latter

* See Vol. II. p. 274.

wide-spread nation, my informant described the Túra (whose chief is called Dírkemá, being a native of Dírki), the Débirí, or Díbbirí, (also spoken of by me on a former occasion), the U'ngumá, and the Káguwá. The Jetko or Jotko, who live along the komádugu, west from the town of Yó, he described to me as identical with the Keléti, the very tribe which is repeatedly mentioned by the historian of Edrís Alawóma. Thus we find in this district a very interesting group of fractions of former tribes who have here taken refuge from the destructive power of a larger empire.

I took a long walk in the afternoon along the sheet of water, which was indented in the most picturesque manner, and was bordered all around with the richest vegetation, the trees belonging principally to the species called karáge and baggarúwa. Further on dúm palms became numerous; and it was the more interesting to me, as I had visited this district, only a few miles further north, during the dry season. Guinea fowl were here so numerous that one could hardly move a step without disturbing a group of these lazy birds, which constitute one of the greatest delicacies of the traveller in these regions. A sportsman would find in these swampy forests not less interesting objects for his pursuits than the botanist; for elephants, several species of antelopes, even including the *oryx* or tétel, nay, as it would seem, even the large *addax*, the wild hog, besides an unlimited supply of water fowl, Guinea fowl, and

partridges, would prove worthy of his attention, while occasional encounters with monkeys would cause him some diversion and amusement.

At present the water was decreasing rapidly*; but this part had been entirely dry at the beginning of September, when the late Mr. Overweg had visited it, and the conclusion then drawn by him, that the river inundates its banks in November, was entirely confirmed by my own experience. There was a great deal of cultivation along this luxuriant border, and even a little cotton was grown; but a very large amount of the latter article might be obtained here with a greater degree of industry. Besides a village at a short distance to the S.E., inhabited by Koyám, and which bears the same name as this branch of the river, there is a hamlet, consisting of about thirty cottages, inhabited by Fúlbe, or Felláta, of the tribe of the Híllega, the same tribe whom we have met in A'damáwa. They seemed to possess a considerable number of cattle, and appeared to lead a contented and retired life in this fertile but at present almost desolate region. But, unfortunately, they have been induced, by their close contact with the Kanúri, to give up the nice manner of preparing their milk which so distinguishes the Fúlbe in other provinces; and even the cheerful way in which the women offered us their ware could not induce me to purchase of them

* Compare what I have said with regard to the periods of the rising and decreasing of this river in Vol. III. p. 474.

their unclean species of sour milk, which is prepared by means of the urine of cattle.

Beautiful and rich as was the scenery of this locality, it had the disadvantage of harbouring immense swarms of mosquitoes; and our night's rest, in consequence, was greatly disturbed.

Thursday, December 2nd. Winding round the swamp (for the nature of a swamp or kulúgu was more apparent, at present, than that of a branch of the river), we reached, after a march of about three miles, the site of the ancient capital of the Bórnu empire, Ghasr-éggomo, which, as I have stated on a former occasion *, was built by the king 'Alí Ghajidéni, towards the end of the fifteenth century, after the dynasty had been driven from its ancient seats in Kánem, and, after a desperate struggle between unsettled elements, began to concentrate itself under the powerful rule of this mighty king. The site was visited by the members of the former expedition, and it has been called by them by the half-Arabic name of Birni-Kadím, the "old capital," — even the Bórnu people in general designating the place only by the name birni, or burni. The town had nearly a regular oval shape, but, notwithstanding the great exaggerations of former Arab informants, who have asserted that this town surpassed Cairo (or Masr el Káhira) in size, and was a day's march across, was little more than six English miles in circumference, being encom-

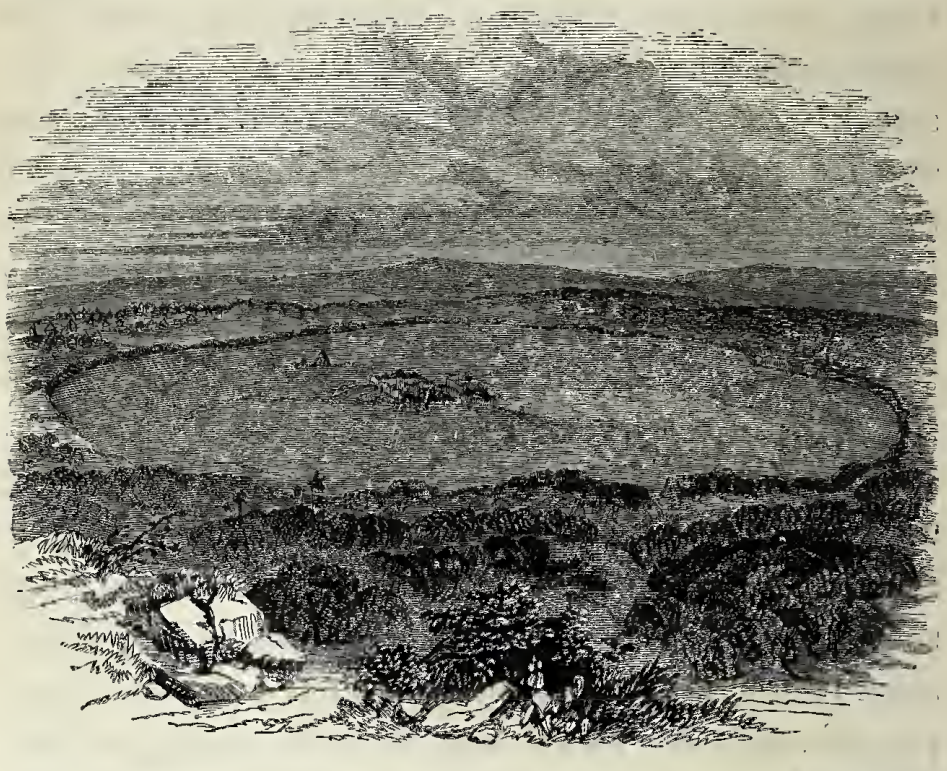
* Vol. II. p. 644.

passed by a strong wall, with six or seven* gates; which, in its present dilapidated state, forms a small ridge, and seems clearly to indicate that, when the town was conquered by the Fúlbe or Felláta, the attack was made from two different sides, viz., the south-west and north-west, where the lower part of the wall had been dug away. The interior of the town exhibits very little that is remarkable. The principal buildings consist of baked bricks; and in the present capital not the smallest approach is made to this more solid mode of architecture.† The dimensions of the palace appear to have been very large, although nothing but the ground plan of large empty areas can be made out at present, while the very small dimensions of the mosque, which had five aisles, seem to afford sufficient proof that none but the people intimately connected with the court used to attend the service, just as is the case at the present time; and it serves, moreover, clearly to establish the fact that even in former times, when the empire was most flourishing, there was no such thing as a médresé,

* The intelligent Arab Ben 'Alí, in the interesting account which he gave to Lucas (Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i. p. 148), distinctly states the number of gates as seven; but it is remarkable that, in all the accounts of the taking of the place by the Fúlbe, mention is only made of two gates, and it is still evident, at the present time, that the western and the eastern gates were the only large ones.

† It must be this circumstance (which to the natives themselves, in the degenerate age of their later kings, appeared as a miracle) which caused the report that in Ghámbarú and Ghasr-éggomo there were buildings of the time of the Christians.

or college, attached to the mosque. The fact is, that although Bórnu at all times has had some learned



men, study has always been a private affair, amongst a few individuals, encouraged by some distinguished men who had visited Egypt and Arabia. Taking into consideration the great extent of the empire during the period of its grandeur, and the fertility and wealth of some of its provinces, which caused gold dust at that time to be brought to market here in considerable quantity, it cannot be doubted that this capital contained a great deal of barbaric magnificence, and even a certain degree of civilization, much more so than is at present to be found in this country; and it is certainly a speculation not devoid of interest to imagine, in this town of Negroland, a splendid court,

with a considerable number of learned and intelligent men gathering round their sovereign, and a priest writing down the history of the glorious achievements of his master, and thus securing them from oblivion. Pity that he was not aware that his work might fall into the hands of people from quite another part of the world, and of so different a stage of civilization, language, and learning! else he would certainly not have failed to have given to posterity a more distinct clue to the chronology of the history of his native country.

It is remarkable that the area of the town, although thickly overgrown with rank grass, is quite bare of trees, while the wall is closely hemmed in by a dense forest; and when I entered the ruins, I found them to be the haunt of a couple of tall ostriches, the only present possessors of this once animated ground: but on the south-west corner, at some distance from the wall, there was a small hamlet.

The way in which the komádugu, assisted probably by artificial means, spreads over this whole region is very remarkable. The passage of the country at the present season of the year, covered as it is with the thickest forest, was extremely difficult, and we had to make a very large circuit in order to reach the village of Zéngirí, where the river could be most easily crossed. I myself went, on this occasion, as far south-west as Zaraima, a village lying on a steep bank near a very strong bend or elbow of the river, which, a little above, seems to be formed by the

two principal branches, the one coming from the country of Bedde, and the other more from the south. But, notwithstanding the great circuit we made, we had to ford several very extensive backwaters stretching out, in the deeper parts of the valley, amidst a thick belt of the rankest vegetation, before we reached the real channel, which wound along in a meandering course inclosed between sandy banks of about twenty-five feet in elevation, and, with its rich vegetation, presenting a very interesting spectacle. The forest in this part is full of tétel, or *Antilope oryx*, and of the large antilope called "kargum." The few inhabitants of this district, although they do not cultivate a great deal of corn, cannot suffer much from famine, so rich is the supply of the forest as well as of the water. Our evening's repast, after we had encamped near Zéngirí, was seasoned by some excellent fish from the river. However, I must observe here that the Kanúri in general are not such good hunters as the Háusa people, of whom a considerable proportion live by hunting, forming numerous parties or hunting clubs, who on certain days go out into the forest.

Friday, December 3rd.

Having made a good march the previous day, we were obliged, before attempting the passage of the river with our numerous beasts and heavy luggage, to allow them a day's repose; and I spent it most agreeably on the banks of the river, which was only a few yards from our encampment. Having seen this

valley in the dry season, and read so many theories with regard to its connection with the Niger on the one side, and the Tsád on the other, it was of the highest interest to me to see it at the present time of the year, when it was full of water, and at its very highest point; and I could only wish that Captain William Allen had been able to survey this noble stream in its present state, in order to convince himself of the erroneous nature of his theory of this river running from the Tsád into the so-called Chadda, or rather Bénuwé. Though the current was not very strong, and probably did not exceed three miles an hour, it swept along as a considerable river of about one hundred and twenty yards breadth towards the Tsád, changing its course from a direction E. 12° S. to N. 35° E. While the bank on this side formed a steep sandy slope, the opposite one was flat, and richly adorned with reeds, of different species, and luxuriant trees. All was quiet and repose, there being no traffic whatever on the river, with the exception of a couple of homely travellers, a man and woman, who in the simple native style were crossing the river, riding on a pair of yoked calabashes and immerged in the water up to their middle, while they had stowed away their little clothing inside those very vessels which supported them above the water; but notwithstanding their energetic labour, they were carried down by the force of the current to a considerable distance. Besides these two human beings, the river at present

was only enlivened by one solitary spoonbill (or, as it is here called, béja or kedébbu-búnibe), who, like a king of the water, was proudly swimming up and down, looking around for prey.

The following day we crossed the river ourselves. I had had some difficulty in concluding the bargain, the inhabitants, who belong to the Tebú-Zénghi *, making at first rather exorbitant demands †, till I satisfied them with a dollar; and we ourselves, camels, horses, and luggage, crossed without an accident, each camel being drawn by a man, mounted on a pair of calabashes, while another man mounted the animal close to its tail. The scenery, although destitute of grand features, was highly interesting, and has been represented as correctly as possible in the plate opposite. The river proved to be fifteen feet deep in the channel, and about 120 yards broad; but there was a still smaller creek behind, about five feet deep.

At length we were again in motion; but our difficulties now commenced, the path being extremely winding, deeply hollowed out, and full of water, and leading through the thickest part of the forest — and I had to lament the loss of several bottles of the most valuable medicine, a couple of boxes being thrown

* I do not know exactly whether the ford has been called after this tribe; but the name Zénghiri also occurs in other localities.

† These people wanted in general nothing but cloves. I however succeeded in buying a sheep from them for eight gábagá, at the rate of eight dŕa each.

from the back of the camel. The forest extended only to the border which is reached by the highest state of the inundation, when we emerged upon open country, and, leaving the town of Nghurútuwa (where Mr. Richardson died) at a short distance on our right, we encamped a few hundred yards to the south of the town of Alaúne, which I had also passed on my former journey.

Here we entered that part of the province of Manga which is governed by Kashélla Belál; and the difference in the character of this tract from the province of Koyám, which we had just left behind, was remarkable, the country being undulated in downs of red sand, famous for the cultivation of ground-nuts and beans, both of which constitute a large proportion of the food of the inhabitants, so that millet and beans are generally sown on the same field, the latter ripening later and constituting the richest pasture for cattle and camels. Of grain, Negro millet (*Pennisetum typhoïdeum*) is the species almost exclusively cultivated in the country of Manga, sorghum not being adapted for this dry ground.

The same difference was to be observed in the architecture of the native dwellings,—the corn stacks which impart so decided a character of peace and repose to the villages of Háusa, but which are sought for in vain in the whole of Bórnu Proper, here again making their appearance. The Manga call them "sébe" or "gúsi." The cottages themselves, although they were not remarkable for their cleanliness, pre-

sented rather a cheerful aspect, the thatch being thickly interwoven with and enlivened by the creepers of various cucurbitaceæ, but especially the favourite kobéwa or *Melopepo*. The same difference which was exhibited in the nature of the country and the dwellings of the natives, appeared also in the character of the latter, the Kanúri horseman or the Koyám camel-breeder being here supplanted by the Manga footman, with his leather apron, his bow and arrow, and his battle-axe, while the more slender Manga girl, scarcely peeping forth from under her black veil, with which she bashfully hid her face, had succeeded to the Bórnu female, with her square figure, her broad features, and her open and ill-covered breast. I have observed elsewhere that, although the Manga evidently form a very considerable element in the formation of the Bórnu nation, their name as such does not occur in the early annals of the empire, and we therefore can only presume that they owe their origin to a mixture of tribes.

Having passed the important place of Kadagárruwá and some other villages, we encamped on the 5th near the extensive village Mámmarí, where the governor of the province at that time resided.*

* To this province, although I do not know by what particular name it is called by the natives, belong the following places, besides Mámmarí or Mómmolí: — Katíkenwá (a large place), Gubálgorúm (touched at by me on my former route) at a short distance to the S.E., Tafiyóri E., Keríbúdduwa, Mainé, Nay, Mammed Kanúri, Mádi Kúlloram, Karángámduwá to the N., Kériwá, Dúggulí, Gúdderam, Ngabóliya, Kajimma, Alaúne, Nghurútuwa, Bam.

A small watercourse joining the komá- Monday, December 6th.
dugu Waúbe from the north, separates the province of Kashélla Belál from another part of Manga, placed under a special officer, who has his residence in Borzári. Close on the western side of this watercourse, which is only about thirty yards across, the Manga, at the time (in the year 1845) when, in consequence of the inroad of Wádáy, the whole empire of Bórnu seemed to be falling to ruin, fortified a large place in order to vindicate their national independence against the rulers of the kingdom; but having been beaten by 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother, the town was easily taken by another kókana or officer, of the name of Háj Sudáni. It is called Máikonomarí-kurá, the Large Máikonomarí, in order to distinguish it from a smaller place of the same name, and contains at present only a small number of dwellings, but was nevertheless distinguished from its more thriving neighbour by a larger supply of articles of comfort, such as a fine herd of cattle, well-filled granaries, and plenty of poultry, while the neighbouring province, which we had just left behind, appeared to be exhausted by recent exactions and contributions, the greater part of the population having even sought safety in a precipitate flight. The country, however, which we traversed on our march to Borzári was not remarkable in any way

The place Shégori, although situated within the boundaries of this province, forms a separate domain of Malá Ibrám.

for the beauty of its scenery, although the former part of our march led through a well-cultivated and populous district; and the heat reflected, during the middle of the day, from the bleak soil clad only with a scanty vegetation, was oppressive in the extreme, although it was the month of December. Thus I passed the walled town of Grémarí* without feeling myself induced, by the herd of cattle just assembled near the wall, to make a halt, the ground here becoming excessively barren and hot. On reaching the town of Borzári, I preferred encamping outside, although there was not the least shade; my heavy luggage and my numerous party rendering quarters inside the town rather inconvenient. The governor, to whom I sent a small present, treated me very hospitably, sending me a heifer, a large provision of rice, several dishes of prepared food, and two large bowls of milk. This excellent man, whose name is Kashélla Manzo, besides the government of his province, had to regulate the whole intercourse along this road, being instructed at the time especially to pre-

* I will here mention, as an instance how careful travellers, even those tolerably well acquainted with the languages of the country through which they travel, must be with regard to the names of places, that when first passing this town I asked a man its name, and, not having distinctly heard what he said, I asked another person who stood by; and he said "mannawáji." Supposing at the time that this was the name of the place, I wrote it down, but soon convinced myself that it meant nothing but "he does not want to speak," or "refuses to answer," and I then learnt on further inquiry that the real name of the town was Grémarí.

vent the exportation of horses from the Bórnu territory into the Háusa states.

The town, which is surrounded with a low crenellated wall and a ditch in good repair, is of considerable size and well built, and may contain from 7000 to 8000 inhabitants; but there is no great industry to be seen, nor is there a good market. The wells measure ten fathoms in depth.

Our direct road from this point would have led straight to Zurríkulo; but an officer of the name of A'dama, who was to accompany me to Zínder, having joined me, I was induced to take a more southerly road, by way of Donári, which constituted his estate; and I was very glad afterwards that I did so, as this road made me acquainted with the peculiar character of the territory of Bedde, which I should not otherwise have touched at.

The first part of our march led through a more dreary tract of country, which was neither very picturesque nor exhibited any great signs of industry among the natives; but after a stretch of a little more than eleven miles, large, wide-spreading tamarind trees announced a more fertile district, and a few hundred yards further on we reached the border of one of the great swampy creeks connected with the south-western branch of the komádugu, and intersecting the territory of Bedde, which we had now entered. We kept close along its border, which was adorned by fine, luxuriant trees, till we encamped at a short distance from Dáddeger, a place inhabited by

Tuesday, December 7th.

Bedde, and at that time forming part of the estate of Malá Ibrám. The village is situated on a small mound close to the swamp or jungle; for the water is so thickly covered with forest, that no portion of the aqueous element is to be seen. It forms rather what the Kanúri call an ngáljam (that is to say, a swampy shallow creek or backwater, having little or no inclination) than a kulúgu; and there can be no doubt of its connection with the great komádugu of Bórnu. The natives call it at this spot Gojágwa*, and further on, Máje. They are pagans, and wear nothing but a narrow leather apron or funó round their loins†, with the exception of a few Kanúri, who are living amongst them, and who cultivate a small quantity of cotton, for which the banks of the swamp are very well suited, and would no doubt be extensively used for this purpose if the country were inhabited by civilized people.

The Bedde, according to their language, are closely related to the Manga, but, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, are much inferior to them in bodily development, being not at all distinguished for their stature; but it is very probable that the inhabitants of these places in the border district, who come into

* I almost suspect that this is the water of which Mr. Hutchinson, when in Ashanti, heard a report from the natives under the name "koumouda Gaiguina." (Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee, p. 213.)

† What Koelle relates (Kanúri Proverbs, p. 82, text; p. 211, transl.) on the authority of his informant, that the Bedde, or Bode as he writes, wear wide shirts, "kálgu," besides the funó, of course (as is the case also with the Marghí) can only have reference to those amongst them who have adopted Islám.

continual contact with their masters the Bórnu people, are more degenerate than those in the interior, who, protected by the several branches of the komádugu and the swamps and forests connected with them, keep up a spirit of national independence, possessing even a considerable number of a small breed of horses, which they ride without saddle or harness, and in the same barbaric manner as the Músgu.

Wednesday, December 8th.

The district which we traversed in the morning was distinguished by a great number of kúka or monkey-bread trees, the first one we saw being destitute of leaves, though full of fruit; but gradually, as we approached a more considerable sheet of water, they became adorned with a profusion of rich foliage, and we here met several small parties laden with baskets, of an elongated shape, full of the young leaves of this tree, which, as "kálu kúka," constitute the most common vegetable of the natives. Besides the kúka, large karáge and kórna or jujube trees (*Zizyphus*), and now and then a fine tamarind tree, though not of such great size as I was wont to see, adorned the landscape.

We had just crossed a swamp, at present dry, surrounded on one side by fine fig trees and gerredh of such luxuriant growth that I was scarcely able to recognize the tree, and on the other by talha trees, when, about noon, we emerged into open cultivated ground, and were here greeted with the sight of a pretty sheet of open water, breaking forth from the forest on our left, and dividing into two branches,

which receded in the distance. The Bedde call it Thaba-kenáma. The water is full of fish, which is dried by the inhabitants, and, either in its natural form or pounded and formed into balls, constitutes an important article of export. We met a good many people laden with it.

It was here that, while admiring this riverlike sheet of water, I recognized, among a troop of native travellers, my friend the sherif Mohammed Ben A'hmed, to whom I was indebted for a couple of hours very pleasantly and usefully spent during my stay in Yóla, and for the route from Mozambique to the lake Nyanja, or, as it is commonly called, Nyassi. I for a moment hoped that it might be my fate, in the company of this man, to penetrate through the large belt of the unknown equatorial region of this continent towards the Indian Ocean. But as he was now on his way from Zínder to Kúkawa, we had only a few moments allowed for conversation and the exchange of compliments, when we separated in opposite directions, never to meet again,—my fate carrying me westward, while he was soon to succumb to the effects of the climate of Negroland.

Three miles further on, turning a little more southward from our westerly direction, we reached the town of Géshiya, once a strong place and surrounded by a clay wall, but at present in a state of great decay, although it is still tolerably peopled, the groups of conical huts being separated by fences of matting into several quarters. Here we encamped

on the north side, near a fine tamarind tree, where millet was grown to a great extent. The south and west sides were surrounded by an extensive swamp or swampy watercourse fed by the komádugu, and, with its dense forest, affording to the inhabitants a safe retreat in case of an attack from their enemies. All the towns of the Bedde are situated in similar positions; and hence the precarious. allegiance of the people (who indulge in rapacious habits) to the ruler of Bórnu. The inhabitants of Géshiya *, indeed, have very thievish propensities; and as we had neglected to fire a few shots in the evening, a couple of daring men succeeded, during the night, in carrying away the woollen blanket in which my companion the Méjebrí merchant 'Alí el A'geren was sleeping at the side of his horse. Although he was a man of hardihood and experience, he was dragged or carried along to a considerable distance, until he was forced to let go his blanket; and, threatening him with their spear in case he should cry out, they managed this affair so cleverly and with such dispatch, that they were off in the dark before we were up to pursue them. It was a pity that these daring rascals escaped with their spoil; but in order to prevent any further depredations of

* The bíllama, or mayor, of this town, who has subjected himself to the authority of Bórnu, bears the title "Mai 'Omár Béddema." Fitíti, the residence of the chief Babýshe, or Babúdji, and the chief town of Bedde, lies a short day's march from here S.S.W. I have more materials of itineraries traversing this region; but they are too indistinct with regard to direction to be used for a topographical sketch of the country.

this kind, we fired several shots, and, with a large accordion, upon which I played the rest of the night, I frightened the people to such a degree, that they thought every moment we were about to ransack the town.

Thursday, December 9th. Keeping along the north-eastern border of the swamp, through a fine country where the tamarind and monkey-bread tree were often interlaced, as I have repeatedly observed to be the case with these species of trees, we reached, after a march of about three miles, the town of Gesma, which is girt and

defended by the swamp on the south and east sides, the wall being distinguished by the irregularity of its pinnacles, if pinnacles they may be called, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. The inhabi-

tants, clad in nothing but a leather apron, were busy carrying clay from the adjacent swamp, in order to repair the wall, which, however, on the west side, was in excellent condition.

Close to this town I observed the first rími, or silk-cotton tree, which in Bórnu Proper is entirely wanting; and as we proceeded through the fine open country, numerous species of trees which are peculiar to Háusa became visible, and seemed to greet me as old acquaintances. I was heartily glad that I had left the monotonous plains of Bórnu once more behind me, and had reached the more favoured and diversified districts of this fine country. Small channels intersected the country in every direction; and immense fishing-baskets were lying in some of them, apparently in order to catch the fish which, during the period of the inundation, are carried down by the river. But the great humidity of this district made it swarm with ants, whose immense and thickly-scattered hills, together with the dúm bush, filled out the intermediate spaces between the larger specimens of the vegetable kingdom.

Having then crossed a tract of denser forest, we entered upon deep sandy soil, where the kúka became the sole tree, excluding almost every other kind, with the exception of a few tamarinds, for whose company, as I have observed, the monkey-bread tree seems to have a decided predilection.

Thus we reached Donári, formerly a considerable place of the Manga, and surrounded with a low

rampart of earth, but at present greatly reduced, the inhabited quarter occupying only a very small proportion of the area thus inclosed. But a good many cattle were to be seen, and, lying just in the shade of the majestic monkey-bread trees which mark the place, afforded a cheerful sight. This was the residence of the Bórnu officer A'dama, who had accompanied me from Borzári, and who the previous day had gone on in advance to pass the night here. But having once made it a rule to encamp in the open country, I preferred the large though leafless trunk of a kúka at a short distance from the eastern gate, to a cool shed inside the town; and the heat was by no means oppressive, a cool wind blowing the whole day.

December 10th.

We exchanged the domain of the monkey-bread tree for that of the dúm palm, by giving to our course a north-westerly direction towards Zurríkulo, the queen of the region of dúm palms and the residence of the hospitable Kashélla Sáid *, passing at some distance on our way a comfortable and populous little place, surrounded with a stockade, and bearing the attractive name of Kechídúniyá, "the sweetness of the world," where a little market was held, to which people were flocking from all sides, male and female, with sour milk, groundnuts, grain, earthen pots, young cattle, and sheep.

* His province comprises the following villages: — Chando, Gíro, Ghasrmarí, Kellerí, Gabchári, Bilaljawa, Nkibúda, Lawandí, Dalarí, Kerí-zemán, Kábi, Gréma Dalarí.

In Zurríkulo I fell into my former route, which I had followed in the opposite direction in March 1851, and, crossing the northern branch of the komádugu, which at present was two feet and a half deep, and following almost the same road, encamped the next day in Shechéri, the first village of the district of Búndi.

CHAP. LIV.

THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY OF MÚNIYÓ, AND ITS GOVERNOR.

December 12th. In Shechéri I left my former route, which would have taken me to Búndi and Máshena, and followed a N.N.W. direction, towards the mountainous province of Múniyó, which before the time of our expedition was entirely unknown. Passing through the district of Chejéssemo, to which Shechéri belongs, we entered a forest where the kúsulu or magária *, with its small berries, was very common, the ground being covered with tall jungle. We then reached the town of Ngárruwá, surrounded with a clay wall in decay, and here watered our animals. The wells were ten fathoms deep; and crowds of boys and girls were busy drawing water from two other richer wells situated on the north side of the place. The path was also frequented by numbers of people who were carrying the harvest into the town, in nets made from the leaves of the dúm palm, and borne on the backs of oxen. Further on, forest and cultivated ground alternated; and

* See what I have said about this tree in Vol. I. p. 522.

leaving a rocky mound called Míva, which marks the beginning of the north-western hilly portion of the Manga country on our right, we reached, after a good march of altogether about twenty-two miles, the rich well of Berbéruwá, a small miserable hamlet which lies at a short distance to the west.

The well, however, which was scarcely a fathom in depth, was surrounded by six fine wide-spreading tamarind trees at regular distances from each other, and afforded quite a pleasant resting-place. The well is important as a station for travellers, while the hamlet is so poor that it does not possess a single cow or goat. It still belongs to the province of the ghaladíma, who about thirty years ago had a caravan of from sixteen to twenty Arabs exterminated in this neighbourhood, when Mukní, the then ruler of Fezzán and one of the greatest slave-hunters of the time, penetrated as far as the Komádugu Wáúbe. Sheikh 'Omár also, when on his expedition against Zínder in order to subjugate the rebellious governor of that town (Ibrahím or Ibrám), encamped on this spot. The temperature of the water of the well was 66°.

On inquiring to-day for the small territory of Auyók or Nkizám, the situation as well as the name of which had been erroneously given by former travellers, I learned that it is situated between Khadéja and Gummel, and that it comprises the following places: Táshina, U'nik, Shágató, Shíbiyay, Belángu, Badda, Rómeri, Sóngolom, Melebétiye and U'marí.

Monday, December 13th. A band of petty native traders or dangarúnfu, who carried their merchandise on their heads, here joined our party. Their merchandise consisted of cotton, which they had bought in Díggera, and were carrying to Sulléri, the market of Múniyó, where cotton is dear. While proceeding onwards, we met another party of native traders from Chelúgiwá, laden with earthenware. In the forest which we then entered, with undulating ground, the karáge was the predominant tree. Further on the road divided; and while I took the western one, which led me to Yámiyá, my people, mistaking a sign which some other persons had laid across the path as if made by myself, took the easterly one to Chelúgiwá, where Méle, the lord of this little estate, resided, so that it was some time before I was joined by my party.

The well (which, as is generally the case in this district, lies at the foot of a granite mount, where the moisture collects) in the afternoon presented an interesting scene, a herd of about 120 head of fine cattle being watered here; and it was the more interesting, as the herdsmen were Felláta, or Fúlbe, of the tribe of the Hirlége. The well measured two fathoms in depth; and the temperature of the water was 80° at 1.20 P.M., while that of the air was 84°.

Tuesday, December 14th. After a march of about six miles through a fine country, occasionally diversified by a rocky eminence and adorned here and there by fine tamarind trees, we reached Sulléri, a considerable place consisting of several detached hamlets, where

the most important market in the territory of Múniyó is held every Friday. The place contains about 5000 inhabitants, and was enlivened at the time by a considerable herd of cattle. Millet is grown to a great extent, although dúm bush or ngille, with its obstructing roots, renders a great portion of the soil unfit for cultivation, and scarcely any cotton at all is raised, so that this forms an important article of importation. Towards the south lies another place, called Deggerári, and to the south-west a third one, called Dúgura. Granitic eminences dotted the whole country; but the foggy state of the atmosphere did not allow me to distinguish clearly the more distant hills.

Proceeding in a north-westerly direction through this hilly country, and leaving at a short distance on our right a higher eminence, at the western foot of which the village of New Búne is situated, we descended considerably into a hollow of clayey soil of a most peculiar character. For all of a sudden an isolated date palm started up on our right, while on our left the unwonted aspect of a tall slender gónda, or *Erica Papaya*, attracted our attention, the intermediate ground being occupied by a rich plantation of cotton. Suddenly a large "sirge" or lake of natron of snowy whiteness, extending from the foot of the height which towers over Búne, approached on our right, — the rich vegetation which girded its border, along which the path led, forming a very remarkable contrast to the barrenness of the "sirge";

for the whole surface of the basin, which at present did not contain a drop of water, was formed of natron, while people were busy digging saltpetre, from pits about six feet deep and one foot and a half in diameter, on its very border. A short distance off, fresh water is to be found close under the surface, giving life to the vegetation, which bears a character so entirely new in this district; and I gazed with delight on the rich scenery around, which presented such a remarkable contrast to the monotonous plains of Bórnu. Wide-spreading tamarind trees shaded large tracts of ground, while detached date palms, few and far between, raised their feathery foliage like a fan over the surrounding country. The ground was clothed, besides, with "retem," or broom, and dúm bush, with the *Tamarix gallica*, or "tarfa," which I scarcely remember to have seen in any other spot during the whole of my travels in Negroland.

Ascending from the clayey soil on a sandy bottom, we reached the western foot of the eminence of Old Búne, which is built in a recess of the rocky cliffs on the western slope of the mount. But the village, which has already suffered greatly by the foundation of New Búne at so short a distance, and which is important only as the residence of Yegúddi, the eldest son of Múniyóma, had been almost destroyed some time before by a great conflagration, with the exception of the clay dwelling of the governor, situated at the foot of the cliffs. It was just rebuilding,—only

the déndal (or principal street) being as yet fit for habitation, while the rest of the place wore a very cheerless aspect.

Returning, therefore, a few hundred yards in the direction from whence I had come, I chose my camping-ground on an eminence at the side of the path shaded by a majestic tamarind tree, and affording an open prospect over the characteristic landscape in the bottom of the irregular vale. Here I spent the whole afternoon enjoying this pleasant panorama, of which I made a sketch which has been represented in the plate opposite. I had now been suffering for the last two months from sore legs, which did not allow me to rove about at pleasure; otherwise I would gladly have accompanied my companion 'Alí el A'geren on a visit to his friend Bashá Bú-Khalúm, a relative of that Bú-Khalúm who accompanied Denham and Clapperton. At this time he was residing in New Búne, where he had lately lost, by another conflagration, almost the whole of his property, including eight female slaves, who were burnt to death while fettered in a hut. As conflagrations are very common all over Negroland, especially in the dry season, a traveller must be extremely careful in confiding his property to these frail dwellings, and he would do well to avoid them entirely.

A cold northerly wind, which blew in the morning, made us feel very chilly in our open and elevated encampment, so that it was rather

Wednesday, December 15th.

late when we set out, changing now our course entirely, from a north-westerly into a north north-easterly direction. The whole neighbourhood was enveloped in a thick fog. The country, after we had passed the mountain Bóro, which gives its name to the village Bórmarí, became rather mountainous. The path wound along through a succession of irregular glens and dells, surrounded by several more or less detached rocky eminences, all of which were clothed with bush. The bottom of the valleys, which consisted mostly of sand, seemed well adapted for the cultivation of sorghum. We passed a large store of grain, where the people were busy pounding or threshing the harvested corn.

In many places, however, the ground was intersected by numerous holes of the fenek or *Megalotis;* and at times clay took the place of the sandy soil. Numerous herds of camels enlivened the landscape, all of which belonged, not to the present owners of the country, but to the Tawárek, the friends and companions of the people of Músa, who had lately made a foray on a grand scale into this very province.

We encamped at length, after a march of about thirteen miles, near the second well of Súwa-Kolólluwa, which was two fathoms in depth, and, unlike the first well, contained a good quantity of water.

The scenery had nothing very remarkable about it; but it exhibited a cheerful, homely character, surrounded as it was by hills, and enlivened by herds of

camels, horses, and cattle, which towards evening gathered round the well to be watered; and the character of peace and repose which it exhibited induced me to make a sketch of it.

Among the animals there were some excellent she-camels, which, as evening advanced, were crying and eagerly looking out for their young ones, that had been left in the surrounding villages. The inhabitants, who treated us hospitably, seemed to be tolerably well off; and the feasting in my little encampment continued almost the whole night long.

Thursday, December 16th.

With the greater eagerness we started early in the morning, in order to reach the capital of this little hilly country, which forms a very sharp wedge or triangle of considerable length, projecting from the heart of Negroland towards the border of the desert, and exhibiting fixed settlements and a tolerably well-arranged government, in contrast to the turbulent districts of nomadic encampments. Our direction meanwhile remained the same as on the preceding day, being mostly a north-easterly one. The situation of this province, as laid down from my route upon the map, seems very remarkable; but we must not forget that in ancient times, during the flourishing period of the empire of Bórnu, the whole country between this advanced spur and Kánem formed populous provinces subjected to the same government, and that it is only since the middle of the last century that, the Berbers or Tawárek having politically separated entirely from the Kanúri, the

whole eastern part of these northern provinces has been laid waste and depopulated, while the energetic rulers of the province of Múniyó have not only succeeded in defending their little territory, but have even extended it in a certain degree, encroaching little by little upon the neighbouring province of Díggera, a tribe of the Tawárek, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion.*

The country in general preserved the same character as on the previous day,—the narrow vales and glens inclosed by the granitic eminences being well cultivated, and studded with small hamlets, in some of which the huts approached the architecture usual in Kánem. Several troops of natives met us on the road, with pack-oxen, over the backs of which large baskets were thrown by means of a sort of network; they were returning from the capital, having delivered their quota of the âshúr or "kúngona máibe." The system of tax-paying in these western provinces is very different from that usual in Bórnu Proper, as I shall soon have another opportunity of relating.

After a march of about six miles, an isolated date palm announced a different region, and a little further on we entered the valley of Túnguré, running from west to east, and adorned with a fine plantation of cotton, besides a grove of about two hundred date palms. Having traversed this valley where the road leads to Bílla Mâllem Gárgebe, we entered a thicket of mimosas, while the eminences assumed a rounder

* Vol. II. p. 72.

shape. The country then became gradually more open, scarcely a single tree being met with, and we obtained a distant view of Gúre, situated at the southern foot and on the lower slope of a rocky eminence, when we began to descend considerably along the shelving ground of the expansive plain laid out in stubble-fields, with here and there a few trees, and intersected by several large and deep ravines.

Having first inspected the site of the town, I chose my camping-ground in a small recess of the sandy

downs which border the south side of a concavity or dell surrounding the town on this side, and laid out in small kitchen-gardens and cotton plantations as shown in the accompanying woodcut; for, notwith-

standing the entreaties of the governor, I did not like to take up my quarters inside the place.

In the evening, I received a visit from Yusuf Mukní, the late Mr. Richardson's interpreter, who at present had turned merchant, and, having sold several articles to Múniyóma the governor of the country, had been waiting here three months for payment. He was very amiable on this occasion, and apparently was not indisposed to accompany me to Sókoto, if I had chosen to make him an offer; but I knew his character too well, and feared rather than liked him. He gave me a faithful account of the wealth and power of Múniyóma, who, he said, was able to bring into the field 1500 horsemen, and from 8000 to 10,000 archers, while his revenues amounted to 30,000,000 of shells, equivalent, according to the standard of this place, to 10,000 Spanish dollars, besides a large tribute in corn, equal to the tenth part, or áshúr, which, in all the provinces of Bórnu north-west of the komádugu, in consequence of the governors of these territories having preserved their independence against the Fúlbe or Felláta, belongs to them, and not to the sovereign lord, who resides in Kúkawa. Each full-grown male inhabitant of the province has to pay annually 1000 shells for himself, and, if he possess cattle, for every pack-ox 1000 shells more, and for every slave 2000.

I had heard a great deal about the debts of this governor; but I learned, on further inquiry, that they only pressed heavily upon him this year, when the

revenues of his province were greatly reduced by the inroad of the Tawárek of which I have spoken before. As a specimen of his style of life, I may mention that he had recently bought a horse of Tarkíye breed for 700,000 shells, — a very high price in this country, equal to about 50*l.* sterling.

Having got ready my presents for the governor, I went to pay him a visit; and while waiting in the inner courtyard, I had sufficient leisure to admire the solid and well-ornamented style of building which his palace exhibited, and which almost cast into the shade the frail architectural monuments of the capital. I was then conducted into a stately but rather sombre audience-hall, where the governor was sitting on a divan of clay, clad in a blue bernús, and surrounded by a great number of people whom curiosity had brought thither. Having exchanged with him the usual compliments, I told him that, as Mr. Richardson had paid him a visit on his first arrival in the country, and on his way from the north to Kúkawa, it had also been my desire, before leaving Bórnu for the western tribes, to pay my respects to him as the most noble, powerful, and intelligent governor of the country, — it being our earnest wish to be on friendly terms with all the princes of the earth, more especially with those so remarkably distinguished as was his family. He received my address with great kindness, and appeared much flattered by it.

Friday, December 17th.

The number of people present on this occasion was

so great, that I did not enter into closer conversation with the governor, the darkness of the place not allowing me to distinguish his features. I had, however, a better opportunity of observing his almost European cast of countenance when I paid him another visit, in order to satisfy his curiosity by firing my six-barrelled revolver before his eyes. On this occasion he did me the honour of putting on the white heláli bernús which had constituted the chief attraction of my present, and which he esteemed very highly, as most noble people do in this country, while the common chief values more highly a dress of showy colours. The white half-silk bernús looked very well, especially as he wore underneath it a red cloth kaftan.

The real name of the governor is Kóso, Múniyóma being, as I have stated on a former occasion*, nothing but a general title, meaning the governor of Múniyó, which, in the old division of the vast empire of Bórnu, formed part of the Yerí. In the present reduced state of the kingdom of Bórnu, he was the most powerful and respectable of the governors, and, by his personal dignity had more the appearance of a prince than almost any other chief whom I saw in Negroland. Besides making himself respected by his intelligence and just conduct, he has succeeded in spreading a sort of mystery round his daily life, which enhanced his authority. The people assured me that nobody ever saw him eating. But, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, even his family

* See Vol. II. p. 192.

harboured that jealousy and want of confidence which undermines the wellbeing of so many princely households based on polygamy.

Kóso at that time was a man of about sixty years of age, and, unfortunately, died shortly afterwards, in the year 1854. He had displayed a great deal of energy on several occasions. It was he who had transferred the seat of government of this province from Búne to Gúre, having conquered (or probably only reconquered) this territory from the Díggera, the Tawárek tribe formerly scattered over a great part of Háusa. But notwithstanding his own energetic character, he had manifested his faithfulness to his sovereign lord in Kúkawa at the time of the inroad of the Wádáy, when Serkí Ibrám, the governor of Zínder, not only declared himself independent, but even demanded homage from the neighbouring vassals of the Bórnu empire, and, when such was denied him, marched against Múniyóma, but was beaten near the town of Wúshek. Such faithful adherence to the new dynasty of the Kánemíyín in Kúkawa is the more remarkable in this man, as the ruling family of Múniyóma seems to have been of ancient standing, and it was an ancestor of Kóso, of the name of Sérriyó, who once conquered the strong town of Dáura, the most ancient of the Háusa states.

But notwithstanding the more noble disposition which certainly distinguished this man from most of his colleagues, here also the misery connected with the horrors of slave-hunting and the slave-trade was very

palpable. For, in order to be enabled to pay his debts, he was just then about to undertake a foray against one of the towns of the Díggera, the inhabitants of which had behaved in a friendly manner towards the Tawárek during their recent inroad; and he begged me, very urgently, to stay until his return from the foray. But as I did not want anything from him, and as the road before me was a long one, I preferred pursuing my journey, taking care, however, to obtain information from him, and from the principal men in his company, respecting those localities of the province which most deserved my attention.

Kóso departed, with his troop in several small detachments, about noon on the 18th, the signal for starting not being made with a drum, as is usual in Bórnu, but with an iron instrument which dates from the old pagan times, and not unlike that of the Músgu. It was also very characteristic, that during his absence the lieutenant-governorship was exercised by the mágirá, or the mother of the governor, who was said to have ruled on former occasions in a very energetic manner, punishing all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, who had remained behind. Before setting out, however, on his foray, the governor sent me a camel as a present, which, although it was not a first-rate one, and was knocked up before I reached Kátsena, nevertheless proved of some use for a few days. I presume that it had been his intention to have given me a better animal, and that his design had only been frus-

trated by some selfish people. He had expressed a wish to purchase from me a pair of Arab pistols; but although I possessed three beautifully-ornamented pairs, I wanted them myself as presents for other chiefs on my further march, and therefore could not gratify his wish. During my stay here he treated me very hospitably, sending me, besides numerous dishes of prepared food, two fat sheep as a present.

Gúre, the present residence of Múniyóma, lies on the southern slope of a rocky eminence, and is separated, by irregular ground, into several detached portions containing, altogether, a population of about 8000 inhabitants. In former years it was more spacious; and its circumference had only been lessened a short time before my arrival, in order to insure greater security. But it is only surrounded with a single, and in some places a double, fence or stockade, the south-western corner, which is most exposed to an attack, being protected in a curious way, by a labyrinth of fences, including a number of cotton-grounds and kitchen-gardens.* But although in this

* I here give a list of the towns and more important villages belonging to the province of Múniyó: — Gúre, the present capital, conquered from the Díggera by Kóso the present governor; Búne, the old capital; New Búne; Sulléri, the chief market-place; Wúshek; Gábana; Sangáya; Méza; Gertégené; Mázamní; Mástatá; Keléno; Kizámmana; Dellakóri; Bóbit, W. of Old Búne; Bírni-n-Gámmachak or Chéchega, the oldest possession of the Múniyómas; Gábu, inhabited besides by Manga, also by Kanúri and Fúlbe; Bratáwa; Kólorí; two places called Gediyó; Kábara; Fasú; Chágamo; Mérerí; Ngámarí; Berdéri; Wódo; Dudémerí; Yebál; Deríkwá; Kalalíwa; Chando; Wurme; Másoda; Fusám

manner the town is only very insufficiently protected against a serious attack, the inhabitants have the advantage of the rocky cone rising over their heads, where they might certainly retire in such a case.

Sunday, December 19th. I left Gúre, continuing my march towards Zínder not along the most direct road, but with the intention of visiting those localities which were likely to present the most interesting features. I therefore kept first in a westerly direction, passing through a mountainous district, and further on through more open country, with the purpose of visiting Wúshek, a place which had been mentioned to me as peculiarly interesting. The situation of the place has something (as the plate a few pages further on, as well as the woodcut, will show) very peculiar about it—a mixture of fertility and aridity, of cultivation and desolation, of industry and neglect—being situated at some distance from the foot of a mountain-range, and separated from it by a barren tract, while on

ghaná; Bermárili; three places called Kadalébbuwa; two places Mája; Changa, with a market every Wednesday; Hogómarí; Gínuwa; Umórarí; Maiganarí; Falám; three places Kolólluwa; Donári; Gáso; Onjol; Wonji; Aladári; Grémarí; U'duwa; Koïgdám; Bítuwa; Kúrerí; Wórirám; Shéddiga; Ngamda; Boggosúwa; Shá; Bráda; Garekkhí; Mádará; Gergériwá; Sassudári; Gásabá; Maya; Lássorí; Shút; Aúra; Ganákta; Maye; Kelle; Aidambé; Ferám; Hugadébbuwa; two places Felládarí; Yémmerí; Dúgerí; Búgu; Ngóliwá; Térmuwa; Gurógudá; U'rowa; Gárruwa; Farram; Hosomawáro; Shíshuwa; Kangárruwa; Bóbot; Mallem Mádorí; Daúrduwa; Deríguwa; Gujámbo; Wárimí; Gajémmi; Inyóm; Tsérruwa; Mállemrí; Karbo; Aríwaul; Díni, and others.

the site itself the moisture percolates in several small dells and hollows; and thus, besides a good crop of wheat, several small groves of date trees are produced. The largest of these groves, skirting the east side of the town, contains about 800 trees, while a little further east another dell winds along, containing about 200 palms, and, joining the former, to the north of the village, widens to a more open ground richly overgrown with tamarind trees, which are entwined with creepers and clad with herbage. This grove, which encompasses the whole of the north side of the place, exhibits a very pleasant aspect. Several ponds are formed here; and abundance of water is found in holes from a foot to two feet in depth.

Going round this depression, I entered the town from the north-east quarter, and here found a large open space laid out in fields of wheat, kitchen-gardens, with onions, and cotton-grounds, all in different stages of cultivation: most of the beds where wheat was grown were just being laid out, the clods of dry earth being broken and the ground irrigated, while in other places the green stalks of the crop were already shooting forth. The onions were very closely packed together. Everywhere the fertilizing element was close at hand, and palm trees were shooting up in several detached clusters; but large mounds of rubbish prevented my taking a comprehensive view over the whole, and the more so as the village is separated into four detached portions lying at a considerable distance from each other, and forming

altogether a circumference of about three miles, with a population of from 8000 to 9000 inhabitants. But the whole is merely surrounded by a light fence. The principal cluster, or hamlet, surrounds a small eminence, on the top of which stands the house of the head man or mayor, built of clay, and having quite a commanding position, while at the north-eastern foot of the hill a very picturesque date grove spreads out in a hollow. The ground being uneven,

WÚSHEK.

1. Principal hamlet surrounding the dwelling of the bíllama, which is situated on an eminence.
2. Several smaller clusters of huts.
3, 4. Shallow vales with palm trees.
5. Small depressions or cavities in the sandy soil, also with palm-trees.
6. Another group of palm trees on the border of a small brook formed by a source of living water.

the dwellings, like those in Gúre, are mostly situated in hollows; and the courtyards present a new and

characteristic feature—for although the cottages themselves are built of reed and stalks of Negro corn, the corn-stacks, far from presenting that light and perishable appearance which they exhibit all over Háusa, approach closely that solid style of building which we have observed in the Músgu country, being built of clay, and rising to the height of ten feet.

Wúshek is the principal place for the cultivation of wheat in the whole western part of Bórnu; and if there had been a market that day, it would have been most profitable for me to have provided myself here with this article, wheat being very essential for me, as I had only free servants at my disposal, who would by no means undertake the pounding and preparing of the native corn, while a preparation of wheat, such as mohamsa, can be always kept ready; but the market of Wúshek is only held every Wednesday. In the whole of this country, one hundred shells, or kúngona, which are estimated equal to one gábagá, form the standard currency in the market; and it is remarkable that this sum is not designated by the Kanúri word "míye" or "yéro,"* nor with the common Háusa word "darí," but by the name "zango," which is used only in the western parts of Háusa and in Sókoto.

I had pitched my tent near the south-eastern

* The Kanúri, in order to express "one hundred," have relinquished the expression of their native idiom, and generally make use of the Arab term "míye."

hamlet, which is the smallest of the four, close to the spot where I had entered the place, not being aware of its extent; and from here I made, in the afternoon, a sketch of the mountain-range towards the south, and the dry shelving level bordered by the strip of green verdure with the palm trees in the foreground, which is represented in the plate opposite. In the evening I was hospitably regaled by each of the two bíllama who govern the town, and I had the satisfaction of making a "tailor to His Majesty Múniyóma," who was residing here, very happy by the present of a few large darning-needles for sewing the líbbedi or wadded dress for the soldiers.

Monday, December 20th. On leaving Wúshek, we directed our course by the spur of the mountain-chain to the south south-west, crossing several hollows, one of which presented a very luxuriant cotton-ground carefully fenced in by the *euphorbiacea* here called mágará, which I have described on a former occasion. The country in general consisted of a broken sandy level clothed with tall reeds. Leaving then a small village of the name of Gédiyó in a recess of the mountains, we entered an undulating plain, the prairie of Nógo, open towards the west, but bounded on the east by an amphitheatre of low hills, and densely clothed with herbage and broom, to which succeeded underwood of small mimosas, and further on, when we approached the hills on the other side of the plain, large clusters of "abísga," or *Capparis sodata*. Only here and there traces of cultiva-

tion were to be seen. The sun was very powerful; and as we marched during the hottest hours of the day, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to sit down for a while.

After having traversed the plain, we again had the mountain-chain on our left; and in a recess or amphitheatre which is formed by the eminences, we obtained a sight of Gábatá, the old residence of the Múniyóma, but at present exhibiting nothing but a heap of unsightly ruins, encompassed towards the road side by a wall built of different kinds of stone, but at present entirely in decay, while in the very angle of the recess at the foot of the mountains a stone dwelling is seen, where it was the custom, in olden times, for every ruler of the country, upon his accession to the throne, to remain in retirement for seven days. It had been my intention to visit this spot; but the present governor had urgently requested me to abstain from such a profane undertaking, the place being (as he said) haunted by spirits: and my sudden indisposition prevented me from accomplishing my design. The natives say that there are caves leading from the stone dwelling into the rock.

Our left being bordered by the mountain-slope, which is beautifully varied, and having on our right a fine grove of magnificent trees and cultivated fields, we reached, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the well situated in a recess of the mountains, but had great difficulty in choosing a spot tolerably free from ants. Here I felt so weak that I did not care either about

the ruins of Gábatá or anything else except the most profound repose.

Tuesday, December 21st. The night was very cold, and disagreeable, a heavy north-easterly gale not only bringing cold, but likewise covering us with clouds of the feathery prickle *Pennisetum distichum*; and we started in a condition anything but cheerful. The mountain-chain on our left now receded, and the country exhibited a rich abundance of timber and herbage, the forest being agreeably broken by a large extent of stubble-fields where millet and beans were grown; and distinguished among the cultivated grounds by the appearance of a certain degree of industry, were the fields of Chégchegá or Gámmachak, the oldest estate of the family of Múniyóma, which we had on our left.* In the intervening tracts of forest the úm-el-barka or kégo (*Mimosa Nilotica*) was very common, but it was at present leafless. Granite protrudes now and then; and further on the whole country became clothed with retem or broom.

Close to the village of Baratáwa, we crossed a narrow but beautiful and regular vale adorned with the finest tamarind trees I ever saw, which were not only developing their domelike umbrageous crowns in full splendour, but which were the more beautiful as the fruit was just beginning to ripen. Close to the well a group of slender dúm palms were starting

* I am a little uncertain, at present, whether this is the old residence, or the Gámmazak near Wúshek.

forth, with their light fanlike foliage, in singular contrast to the domelike crowns of dark-green foliage which adorned the tamarind trees. This beautiful tree further on also remained the greatest ornament to the landscape; but besides this the kómor or baúre also and other species were observed, and the fan palm was to be seen here and there. Cattle and camels enlivened the country, which presented the appearance of one vast field, and was dotted with numerous corn stacks.

I had entertained the hope of being able this day to reach the natron lake of Keléno; but I convinced myself that the distance was too great, and, although I reached the first hamlet, which bears the name of Keléno, I was obliged to encamp without being able to reach the lake. There had been in former times a large place of the same name hereabout; but the inhabitants had dispersed, and settled in small detached hamlets. Close to our encampment there was a pond of small size, but of considerable depth, which seemed never to dry up. It was densely overgrown with tall papyrus and melés. The core of the root of this rush was used by my young Shúwa companion to allay his hunger, but did not seem to me to be very palatable: and fortunately it was not necessary to have recourse to such food, as we were treated hospitably by the inhabitants of the hamlet. The baúre, or, as they are here called, kómor, have generally a very stunted and extremely poor appearance in this district, and nothing at all like that magnificent specimen

which I had seen on my first approach to Sudán, in the valley of Bóghel.

Wednesday, December 22nd. The night was very cold, in fact one of the coldest which I experienced on my whole journey, the thermometer being only 8° above freezing-point; but nevertheless, there being no wind, the cold was less sensibly felt, and my servants were of opinion that it had been much colder the previous day, when the thermometer indicated 22° more.

As the natron lake did not lie in my direct route, I sent the greater part of my people, together with the camels, straight on to Badamúni, while I took only my two body-guards, the Gatróni and the Shúwa, with me. The country presented the same appearance as on the previous day; but there was less cultivation, and the dúm palm gradually became predominant. In one place there were two isolated deléb palms. Several specimens of the *Kajília* were also observed. The level was broken by numerous hollows, the bottom being mostly covered with rank grass, and now and then even containing water. In front of us, three detached eminences stretched out into the plain from north to south, the natron lake being situated at the western foot of the central eminence, not far from a village called Magájiri. When we had passed this village, which was full of natron, stored up partly in large piles, partly sewn into "tákrufa," or matting coverings, we obtained a view of the natron lake, lying before us in the hollow at the foot of the rocky

eminence, with its snow-white surface girt all round by a green border of luxuriant vegetation. The sky was far from clear, as is very often the case at this season; and a high wind raised clouds of dust upon the surface of the lake.

The border of vegetation was formed by well-kept cotton-grounds, which were just in flower, and by kitchen-gardens, where derába or *Corchorus olitorius* was grown, the cultivated ground being broken by dúm bush and rank grass. Crossing this verdant and fertile strip, we reached the real natron lake, when we hesitated some time whether or not we should venture upon its surface; for the crust of natron was scarcely an inch thick, the whole of the ground underneath consisting of black boggy soil, from which the substance separates continually afresh. However, I learned that, while the efflorescence at present consisted of only small bits or crumbled masses, during the time of the bíggela, that is to say, at the end of the rainy season, larger pieces are obtained here, though not to be compared with those found in Lake Tsád, — the kind of natron which is procured here being called "boktor," while the other quality is called "kilbu tsaráfu." A large provision of natron, consisting of from twenty to twenty-five piles about ten yards in diameter, and four in height, protected by a layer of reeds, was stored up at the northern end of the lake. The whole circumference of the basin, which is called "ábge" by the inhabitants, was one mile and a half.

I here changed my course in order to join my people, who had gone on straight to Badamúni. The country at first was agreeably diversified and undulating, the irregular vales being adorned with dúm palms and fig trees; and cultivation was seen to a great extent, belonging to villages of the territory of Gúshi*, which we left on one side. Presently the country became more open, and suddenly I saw before me a small blue lake, bounded towards the east by an eminence of considerable altitude, and towards the north by a rising ground, on the slope of which a place of considerable extent was stretching out.

Coming from the monotonous country of Bórnu, the interest of this locality was greatly enhanced: and the nearer I approached, the more peculiar did its features appear to me; for I now discovered that the lake, or rather the two lakes, were girt all round by the freshest border of such a variety of vegetation as is rarely seen in this region of Negroland.

We had some difficulty in joining our camels and people, who had pursued the direct road from Keléno; for, having appointed as the spot where we were to meet, the north-eastern corner of the town of Gadabúni, or Badamúni, towards the lake, we found that it would be extremely difficult for them to get there, and

* This territory comprises the following villages: — Farilkaia, Górebí, Mataráwa, Tsamaiku, Kachébaré, Yáka, and Báda. The greater part of the inhabitants already belong to the Háusa race, or, as the Kanúri say, "A'funú."

we therefore had to ride backwards and forwards before we fixed upon a place for our encampment, at the western end of this small luxuriant oasis. On this occasion I obtained only a faint idea of the richness and peculiarity of this locality; but on the following morning I made a more complete survey of the whole place, as well as my isolated situation and the means at my disposal would allow, the result of which is represented in the accompanying woodcut.

The whole of the place forms a kind of shallow vale, stretching out in a west-easterly direction, and surrounded on the west, north, and south sides by hills rising from 100 to 200 feet, but bordered towards the east by Mount Shedíka, which rises to about 500 or 600 feet above the general level of the country. In this vale water is found gushing out from the ground in rich, copious springs, and feeds two lakes, after irrigating a considerable extent of cultivated ground where, besides sorghum and millet, cotton, pepper, indigo, and onions are grown. These lakes are united by a narrow channel thickly overgrown with the tallest reeds, but, notwithstanding their junction, are of quite a different nature, the westernmost containing fresh water, while that of the eastern lake is quite brackish, and full of natron. It seems to be a peculiar feature in this region, that all the chains of hills and mountains stretch from north-east to south-west, this being also the direction of the lakes.

The chief part of the village itself lies on the north-west side of the plantation, on the sloping ground of

BADAMÚNI.

1. Richest source at the south-western border of the plantation.
2. Open square in the village, adorned with a luxuriant "karáge" tree.
3. Another rich source in the northern vale.
4 Market-place.

the downs, while a smaller hamlet borders the gardens on the south-west side. The plantations are very carefully fenced, principally with the bush called mágará, which I have mentioned on former occasions; and besides kúka or monkey-bread trees, and kórna, or nebek, a few date palms contributed greatly to enliven the scenery. The monkey-bread trees, however, were all of small size, and of remarkably slender growth, such as I had not before observed, while the public place, or "fáge," of the smaller village was adorned by a karáge tree of so rich a growth that it even surpassed, if not in height, at least in the exuberance of its foliage, the finest trees of this species which I had seen in the Músgu country.

I began my survey of this interesting locality on the south side, following first the narrow path which separates the southern village from the plantation, and visiting again the principal source, the rich volume of which, gushing along between the hedges, had already excited my surprise and delight the previous day.

This lower village cannot be very healthy, both on account of its exuberant vegetation, and the quantity of water in which the neighbourhood abounds; but its situation is extremely pleasant to the eye. Keeping then close along the southern border of the plantation, I reached the eastern edge of the western lake, which is thickly overgrown with papyrus and melés, while, in the narrow space left between the plantation

and the lake, the baúre and the gáwasú are the common trees.

The presence of the latter at this spot seems very remarkable, as this tree, in general, is looked for in vain in this whole region; and I scarcely remember to have seen it again before reaching the village, a few miles to the N.E. of Wurnó, which has thence received its name.

The papyrus covers the whole shore at the point of junction of the two lakes, while in the water itself, where it first becomes brackish, another kind of weed was seen, called "kumba," the core of which is likewise eaten by the greater part of the poorer inhabitants, and is more esteemed than the melés. It was highly interesting to me to observe that my young Shúwa companion, who was brought up on the shores of the Tsád, immediately recognised, from the species of reeds, the nature of the water on the border of which they grew, as this mixed character of brackish and sweet water is, exactly in the same manner, peculiar to the outlying smaller basins of that great Central African lagoon.*

I found the junction of the two lakes from sixty-five to seventy yards broad, and at present fordable, the water being four feet and a half in depth. The difference in the appearance of the natron lake, from that exhibited by the fresh-water basin, was remarkable in the extreme,—the water of the one being of a dark-blue

* See what I have said on this subject, Vol. II. p. 325.

colour, and presenting quite a smooth surface, while that of the other resembled the dark-green colour of the sea, and, agitated by the strong gale, broke splashing and foaming on the shore in mighty billows, so that my two companions, the Shúwa lad and the Háusa boy, whom I had taken with me on this excursion, were quite in ecstasy, having never before witnessed such a spectacle. It would have been a fine spot for a water-party. The surrounding landscape, with Mount Shedíka in the east, was extremely inviting, although the weather was not very clear and had been exceedingly foggy in the morning. But there was neither boat nor canoe, although the lake is of considerable depth and is said always to preserve about the same level; for, according to the superstition of the inhabitants, its waters are inhabited by demons, and no one would dare to expose himself to their pranks, either by swimming or in a boat.

The brackish quality of the water arises entirely from the nature of the soil. In the centre it seems to be decidedly of such a quality; but I found that near the border, which is greatly indented, the nature of the water in the different creeks was very varying. In one it was fresh, while in a neighbouring one it was not at all drinkable; but nevertheless even here there were sometimes wells of the sweetest water quite close to the border. Swarms of water fowl of the species called "gármaka" by the Háusa people, and "gubóri" by the Kanúri, together

with the black rejíjia and the small sanderling, enlivened the water's edge, where it presented a sandy beach.

A little further on, the melés and kumba were succeeded by the tall bulrush called "bús," while beyond the north-easterly border of the lake an isolated date palm adorned the scenery, which in other respects entirely resembled the shores of the sea, a rich profusion of sea weed being carried to the bank by the billows. Then succeeded a cotton plantation, which evidently was indebted for its existence to a small brook formed by another source of fresh water which joins the lake from this side. From the end of this plantation, where the natron lake attains its greatest breadth of about a mile and a half, I kept along the bank in a south-westerly direction, till I again reached the narrow junction between the two lakes. Here the shore became very difficult to traverse, on account of an outlying branch of the plantation closely bordering the lake, and I had again to ascend the downs from whence I had enjoyed the view of this beautiful panorama on the previous day. I thus re-entered the principal village from the north-east side; and while keeping along the upper road, which intersects the market-place, I saw with delight that the town is bounded on the north side also by a narrow but very rich vale, meandering along and clad with a profusion of vegetation; and I here observed another spring, which broke forth with almost as powerful a stream as that near the southern

quarter, and was enlivened by a number of women busily employed in fetching their supply of water.

The market-place is formed of about thirty sheds or stalls; and there is a good deal of weaving to be observed in the place, its whole appearance exhibiting signs of industry. I could not, however, obtain a sheep, or even as much as a fowl, so that our evening's repast was rather poor; and a very cold easterly wind blowing direct into the door of my tent, which I had opened towards Mount Shedíka in order to enjoy the pleasant prospect of the lakes and the plantation, rendered it still more cheerless. The whole of the inhabitants belong to the Háusa race; and the governor himself is of that nation.* He is in a certain degree dependent on the governor of Zínder, and not directly on the sheikh; and he was treated in the most degrading manner by my trooper, although the latter was a mere attendant of A'dama the governor of Donári.

Friday, December 24th.

I made an interesting day's march to Mírriya, another locality of the province Demágherim, greatly favoured by nature. The first part of our road was rather hilly, or even mountainous, a promontory of considerable elevation jutting out into the more open country from S.E., and forming in the whole district a well-marked boundary. The village Hándará, which lies at the foot of a higher

* The territory under his command comprises, besides Badamúni, four villages, all situated towards the north, their names being as follows: — Jíshwa, Koikám, Zermó, and Jígaw.

mountain bearing the same name, and which we reached after a march of about two miles, was most charmingly situated, spreading out in several straggling groups on the slopes of the hills, and exhibiting a far greater appearance of prosperity than Badamúni. It was highly interesting to take a peep on horseback at the busy scenes which the courtyards exhibited. Poultry was here in great abundance.

While descending from the village, we crossed a beautiful ravine enlivened by a spring, and adorned by a few detached groups of date and deléb palms spreading their feathery foliage by the side of the dúm palms. Leaving then a cotton plantation, stretching out where the ravine widened, we ascended the higher ground, our route lying now through cultivated ground, at other times through forest; and after a march of about fourteen miles, we crossed a kind of shallow vale, richly adorned with vegetation, and bordered towards the north by sandy downs, over which lies the direct route to Zínder. A little lower down this valley we passed a small village called Potoró, distinguished by the extent of its cotton plantations. Along the lower grounds a few date trees form a beautiful fringe to this little oasis; here, also, springs seemed to be plentiful, and large ponds of water were formed.

Four miles beyond this place we reached the wall of the town of Mírriya, which was beautifully adorned with large tamarind trees. This town had been once

a large place, and the capital of the whole western province of Bórnu. But when the town of Zínder was founded, about twenty-five years previously, by Slímán the father of the present governor Ibrám, Mírriya began to decline, and the chief of this territory fell into a certain degree of dependence upon the governor of Zínder. At the north side of the town there is an extensive district cultivated with cotton and wheat, and irrigated likewise by springs which ooze forth from the sandy downs; besides a few date trees, a group of slender feathery-leaved gónda overshadowed the plantation, and gave it an uncommonly attractive character. Having proceeded in advance of my camels, which had followed for some time another path, I had to wait till long after sunset before they came up, and, while resting in the open air, received a visit from the governor of the town, who, in true Háusa fashion, arrived well dressed and mounted, with a numerous train of men on horseback and on foot, singing men, and musicians.

Saturday, December 25th.

This was to be the day of my arrival in Zínder — an important station for me, as I had here to wait for new supplies, without which I could scarcely hope to penetrate any great distance westward.

The country was more open than it had been the preceding day; and the larger or smaller eminences were entirely isolated, with the exception of those near Zínder, which formed more regular chains. The ground consisted mostly of coarse sand and

gravel, the rocks being entirely of sandstone, and intersected by numerous small watercourses, at present dry. This being the nature of the ground, the district was not very populous; but we passed some villages which seemed to be tolerably well off, as they had cattle and poultry.

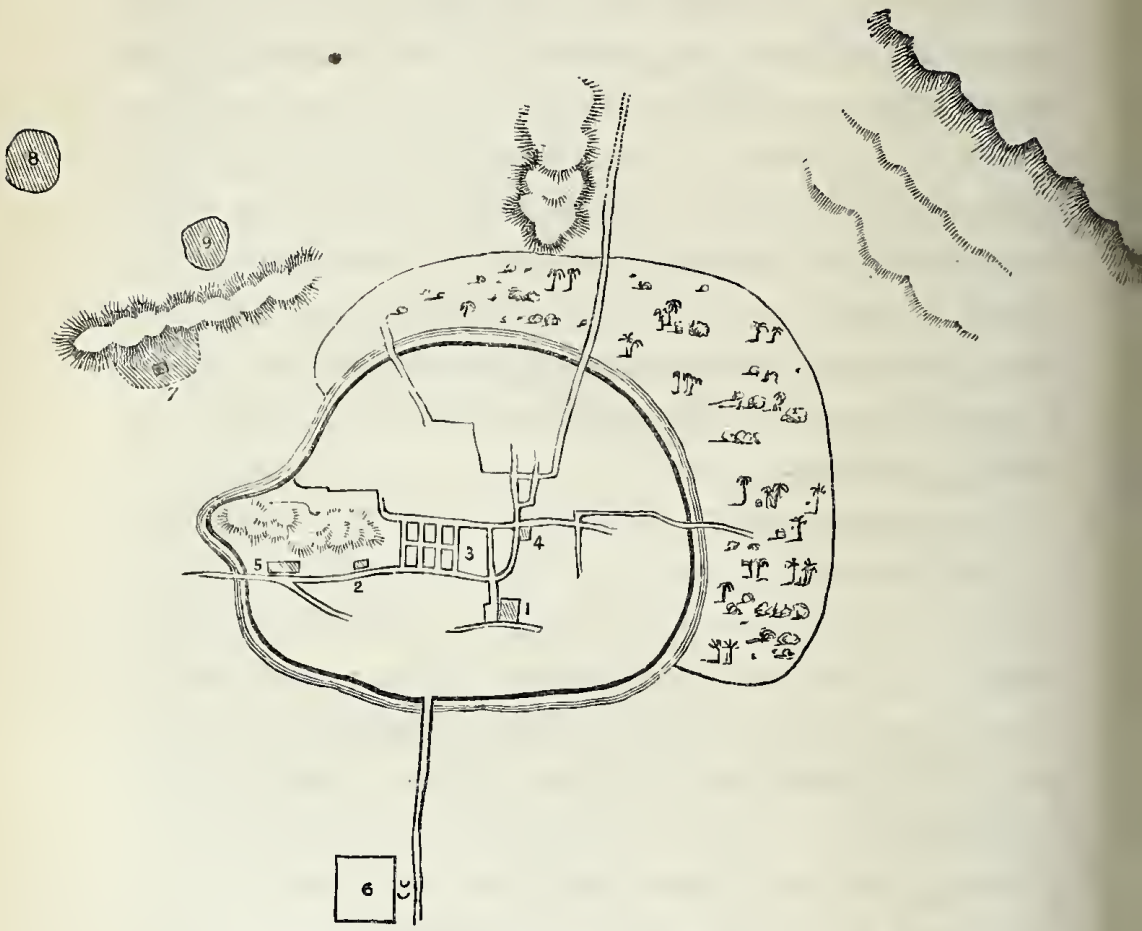
Pursuing our north-westerly direction, we reached the town of Zínder, after a march of about nine miles and a half, and, winding round the south side of the town, which is surrounded by a low rampart of earth and a small ditch, entered it from the west. Passing then by the house of the sheríf el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, we reached the quarters which had been assigned to us, and which consisted of two clay rooms. Here I was enabled to deposit all my property in security, no place in the whole of Sudán being so ill famed, on account of the numerous conflagrations to which it is subjected, as Zínder.

The situation of Zínder is peculiar and interesting. A large mass of rock starts forth from the area of the town on the west side, while others are scattered in ridges round about the town, so that a rich supply of water collects at a short depth below the surface, fertilizing a good number of tobacco-fields, and giving to the vegetation around a richer character. This is enhanced especially by several groups of date palms, while a number of hamlets, or zangó, belonging to the Tawárek chiefs who command the salt-trade, and especially one which belongs to Lúsú, and another to A'nnur, add greatly to the interest of the place. The

larger plantation which the sḥerîf el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, had recently begun to the south of the town, although very promising and full of vegetables difficult to procure in this country, was too young to contribute anything to the general character of the place. It was entirely wanting in larger trees, and had only a single palm tree and a lime. I am afraid, after the revolution of December 1853, which caused the death of that noble Arab, who was one of the more distinguished specimens of his nation, it has returned to the desolate state from which he called it forth.

The accompanying ground-plan of the town and its environs will, I hope, convey some idea of its peculiar character; but it can give not the faintest notion of the bustle and traffic which concentrate in this place, however limited they may be when compared with those of European cities. Besides some indigo-dyeing, there is scarcely any industry in Zínder; yet its commercial importance has of late become so great, that it may with some propriety be called "the gate of Sudán." But of course its importance is only based on the power of the kingdom of Bórnu, which it serves to connect more directly with the north, along the western route by way of Ghát and Ghadámes, which has the great advantage over the eastern or Fezzán route, that even smaller caravans can proceed along it with some degree of security, that other route having become extremely unsafe. It was then the most busy time for the

inhabitants, the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí having arrived some time previously, and all the hamlets



1. Residence of governor, inclosed by mattingwork.
2. House of sherif el Fási.
3. Market-place.
4. My own quarters.
5. Quarters built for the accommodation of strangers.
6. "Sánia," or plantation, belonging to the sherif el Fási.
7. Hamlet, "zangó," belonging to A'nnur, the chief of the Kél-owí.
8. "Zangó" belonging to Lúsú, the chief of the Kél-azanéres.
9. "Zangó" belonging to some other chiefs among the Tawárek.

situated around the town being full of these desert traders, who during their leisure hours endeavoured to make themselves as merry as possible with music and dancing. This gave me an opportunity of seeing

again my friend the old chief of Tintéllust, who, however, in consequence of the measures adopted towards him by Mr. Richardson, behaved rather coolly towards me, although I did not fail to make him a small present.

Being most anxious to complete my scientific labours and researches in regard to Bórnu, and to send home as much of my journal as possible, in order not to expose it to any risk, I staid most of the time in my quarters, which I had comfortably fitted up with a good supply of "síggedí" or coarse reed mats, taking only now and then, in the afternoon, a ride on horseback either round the town or into the large well-wooded valley which stretches along from N.W. to S.E., at some distance from the town, to the N.E. Once I took a longer ride, to a village about eight miles S.S.E., situated on an eminence with a vale at its foot, fringed with dúm palms and rich in saltpetre.

On the 20th of January, 1853, I received from the hands of the Arab Mohammed el 'Akerút, whom I have had occasion to mention previously*, a valuable consignment, consisting of 1000 dollars in specie†, which were packed very cleverly in two boxes of sugar, so that scarcely anybody became aware that I had received money, and the messenger seemed

* See Vol. I. p. 185.

† Unfortunately they were not all Spanish or Austrian dollars; but there were among the number forty pieces of five francs, and more than one hundred Turkish mejidíye.

well deserving of a present equal to his stipulated salary; but I received no letters on this occasion. I had also expected to be able to replace here such of my instruments as had been spoiled or broken, by new ones; but I was entirely disappointed in this respect, and hence, in my further journey, my observations regarding elevation and temperature are rather defective.

I then finished my purchases, amounting altogether to the value of 775,000 kurdí, of all sorts of articles which I expected would be useful on my further proceedings, such as red common bernúses, white turbans, looking-glasses, cloves, razors, chaplets, and a number of other things, for which I had at the time the best opportunity of purchasing, as all Arab and European merchandise, after the arrival of the káffala, was rather cheap. Thus I prepared for my setting out for the west; for although I would gladly have waited a few days longer, in order to receive the other parcel, consisting of a box with English iron-ware and 400 dollars, which was on the road for me by way of Kúkawa, and which, as I have stated before, had been entrusted, in Fezzán, to a Tebú merchant, it was too essential for the success of my enterprise that I should arrive in Kátsena before the Góberáwa set out on a warlike expedition against that province, for which they were then preparing on a grand scale. It was thus that the parcel above-mentioned, which, in conformity with my arrange-

ments, was sent after me to Zínder by the vizier, and which arrived only a few days after I had left that place, remained there in the hands of the sheríf el Fási, and, on his being assassinated in the revolution of 1854, and his house plundered, fell into the hands of the slaves of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán.

CHAP. LV.

DEPARTURE FROM ZÍNDER. — THE BORDER REGION BETWEEN THE BÓRNU AND THE FULFÚLDE EMPIRES. — SECOND STAY IN KÁTSENA.

Sunday, January 30th, 1853. I LEFT the capital of the westernmost province of the Bórnu empire in the best spirits, having at length succeeded, during my prolonged stay there, in getting rid of the disease in my feet, which had annoyed me ever since my return from Bagírmi to Kúkawa. I had, moreover, strengthened my little caravan by two very excellent camels, which I had bought here; and I was now provided with a sufficient supply of money, stores, and presents, the total value of which exceeded 2000 dollars, and which seemed to guarantee success to my undertaking, at least in a pecuniary point of view, and gave me confidence once more to try my fortune with the Fúlbe, my first dealings with whom had not been very promising. However, the road before me was anything but safe, as I had again to traverse with my valuable property that border district, intermediate between the independent Háusáwa and the Fúlbe, which is the scene of uninterrupted warfare and violence, and unfortunately there was no caravan at the time; but nevertheless the most intelligent men in the place were of opinion that this route, by

way of Gazáwa, was safer than that by Dáura, the unscrupulous governor of the latter province, under cover of his authority, which could not be withstood with a high hand, being apparently more to be feared than the highway robbers in the border wilderness, who by watchfulness and good arms might be kept at a respectful distance. But altogether this was a rather unfortunate circumstance for me, as I cherished the ardent desire of visiting the town of Dáura, which, as I have explained on a former occasion, seems to have been the oldest settlement of the Háusa tribe, who appear to have been, from their origin, nearly related to the Berber family,—the Díggera, a section of that nation, being formerly entirely predominant in the territory of Dáura. At that time, however, I entertained the hope that, on my return from the west, I might be enabled to visit the latter place; but circumstances prevented me from carrying out my design.

The whole country which we traversed on our way westward, besides being richly studded with fixed dwelling-places, was full of parties of A'sbenáwa salt-traders, partly moving on, partly encamped and having their merchandise carefully protected by fences of corn-stalks. But although these people greatly contributed to the animated character of the landscape, yet their presence by no means added to the security of the country; and altogether my order of march became now a very different one from what it had been. Throughout my march from

Kúkawa to Zínder, with a few exceptions, it had been my custom to proceed far in advance of the camels, with my horsemen, so that I used to arrive at the camping-ground before the greatest heat of the day had set in; but, on account of the greater insecurity of the country, it now became necessary for me to pursue my march slowly, in company with my luggage train.

The ground along our track, as we proceeded from Zínder, was undulating, with ledges or small ridges and isolated masses of granite boulders starting forth here and there; but the country gradually improved, especially after we had passed a pond at the distance of about seven miles from the town, filling out a concavity or hollow, and fringed with wide-spreading trees and a fine plantation of cotton and tobacco, which were shaded by a few dúm palms. Thus we reached the village of Týrmení, lying at the border of a shallow vale and surrounded with a strong stockade. Here we fell in with a numerous body of Ikázkezan, mustering, besides a great many on foot, twelve or thirteen men well mounted on horseback, and thinking themselves strong enough, in their independent spirit, to pursue a contraband road along the border district between Dáura and Kátsena, in order to avoid paying any customs to the potentates of either. But the restless governor of Dáura keeps a sharp look-out, and sometimes overtakes these daring smugglers.

Near the village of Dámbedá also, which we reached after a march of two miles from Týrmení

through a more hilly country, several divisions of the salt-caravan were encamped; and we chose our camping-ground near a troop of native traders, or fatáki. While we were pitching the tent, a Tárki or Amóshagh, mounted on horseback, came slowly up to us, apparently astonished at the peculiar character of the tent, which he seemed to recognise as an old acquaintance. But he was still more surprised when he recognised myself; for he was no other than Aghá Batúre the son of Ibrahím, from Selúfiyet, the chief instigator of the foray made against us at the time of our entering A'ír or A'sben, by the border tribes of that country.

In the depression of the plain towards the south from our encampment, where all the moisture of the district collected, cotton was cultivated to a great extent, while adjoining the village, which lay close to a ridge of granite, a small field of tobacco was to be seen. A petty market, which was held here, enabled us to provide ourselves with grain, poultry, and red pepper, as we had forgotten to lay in a store of the latter article, which is indispensable to travellers in hot countries.

Monday, January 31st.

The district through which we passed was densely inhabited, but it was rather scantily timbered, the ground being clad only with short underwood; detached hills were seen now and then; but after a march of about seven miles, the character of the country changed, kálgo appearing more frequently, while the soil consisted of deep sand. Towards the south the vegetation was richer, several

Tawárek hamlets appearing in the distance. Thus we reached a large well, about thirteen fathoms deep and richly provided with water, where a large herd of cattle and a number of Búzawe, or Tawárek half-castes, of both sexes, were assembled; and I was agreeably surprised at the greater proof of ingenuity which I here observed—a young bull being employed in drawing up the water in a large leather bag containing a supply sufficient for two horses,—this being the only time during my travels in Negroland that I observed such a method of drawing up the water, which in general, even from the deepest wells, is procured by the labour of man alone. The young bull was led by a very pretty Amóshagh girl, to whom I made a present of a tin box with a looking-glass in it, as a reward for her trouble, when she did not fail to thank me by a courtesy, and the expression of an amiable "agaishéka," "my best thanks." In the whole of this country a custom still prevails, dating from the period of the strength of the Bórnu empire, to the effect that the horses of travellers must be watered, at any well, in precedence to the wants of the natives themselves.

The whole spectacle which this well exhibited was one of life and activity; and the interest of the scenery was further increased by a dense grove of fine tamarind trees which spread out on the south side of the path. I learned, on inquiry, that this district belongs to the territory of Tumtúmma, the governor of which is a vassal of Zínder. Close to Tumtúmma, on the west, lies the considerable town of Gorgom.

Leaving the principal road on our right, and following a more southerly one, we encamped near the village of Gúmda, which consisted of two hamlets inhabited exclusively by Tawárek slaves. But the territory belongs likewise to the province of Tumtúmma. A troop of fatáki, or native traders, were encamped near us.

Tuesday, February 1st.

The surface of the country through which our road lay was broken by depressions of larger or smaller extent, where the dúm palm flourished in great numbers — a tree which is very common in the territory of Tasáwa, which we entered a short time before we reached the village of Káso. We had here descended altogether, most probably, a couple of hundred feet, although the descent was not regular, and was broken by an occasional ascent. The road was well frequented by people coming from the west with cotton, which they sell to advantage in Zínder.

We made a long stretch, on account of the scarcity of water, passing the large village of Shabáre, which attracted our attention from the distance by the beating of drums, but could not supply us with a sufficient quantity of water, — its well measuring twenty-five fathoms in depth, and nevertheless being almost dry; and thus we proceeded till we reached Maíjirgí, after a march of almost twenty-five miles. The village is named from a *troughlike** depression, on the slope of which it is situated, and which, towards

* "Jirgí" means boat, as well as a large trough for watering the cattle.

the south, contains a considerable grove of dúm palms. We encamped close to the well, which is fourteen fathoms deep, at some distance from the village, which has a tolerably comfortable appearance, although it had been ransacked two years before by the governor of Kátsena; but, in these regions, dwelling-places are as easily restored as they are destroyed. The inhabitants are notorious for their thievish propensities; and we had to take precautions accordingly. The whole of this country is rich in beans; and we bought plenty of dried bean-tressels, which are made up in small bundles, and called "haráwa" by the Arabs, affording most excellent food for the camels.

Wednesday, February 2nd. Several native travellers had attached themselves to my troop. Amongst them was an abominable slave-dealer who was continually beating his poor victims. I was extremely glad to get rid of this man here, he, as well as the other people, being bound for Tasáwa, which I was to leave at some distance on my right. While my people were loading the camels, I roved about, making a very pleasant promenade along the vale, which was richly adorned with dúm palms. Having set out at length, keeping a little too much towards the west, and crossing the great highroad which comes from Tasáwa, we passed several villages on our road, while dúm palms and tamarind trees enlivened the country where the ground was not cultivated, but especially the many small and irregular hollows which we traversed.

Having lost one of our camels, which died on the road, we encamped near a village (the name of which, by accident, I did not learn) situated in a large vale rich in dúm palms, and encompassed on the east side by a regular ridge of sandhills of considerable height. Rice was cultivated in the beds beside the onions, while wheat, which is generally raised in this way, was not grown at all. As I have frequently observed, there is no rice cultivated in the whole of Bórnu, — this village constituting, I think, the easternmost limit of the cultivation of this most important article of food, which is the chief staff of life in the whole of Kébbi and along the Niger. The wells in this valley were only three feet deep, and richly provided with water; and the whole vale was altogether remarkable.

Thursday, February 3rd.

The dense grove of dúm palms through which our road led afforded a most picturesque spectacle in the clear light of the morning sky, and reminded me of the extensive groves of palm trees which I had seen in more northern climes, while large piles of the fruit of the fan palm, stored up by the natives, excited the facetious remarks of those among my people who were natives of Fezzán; and they sneered at the poverty and misery of these negroes, who, being deprived by nature of that delicious and far-famed fruit of the nobler *Phœnix*, were reduced to the poor and tasteless produce of this vile tree. We then left the shallow bottom of the vale, with its wells seven fathoms in depth, at the side of a village a short distance to the east. The country then became

more open; and after a march of four miles, we reached the shallow fáddama of Gazáwa, and, leaving the town at a short distance on our right, encamped a little to the south, not far from a fine old tamarind tree.

I was enjoying the shade of this splendid tree, when my friend the serkí-n-turáwa, whom, on my first entrance into the Háusa country, I introduced to the reader as a specimen of an African dandy, came up, on a splendid horse, to pay his compliments to me. The petty chief of Gazáwa and his people had been much afraid, after they had received the news of my approach, that I might take another road, in order to avoid making them a present, which has the same value as the toll in a European country. He told me that they had already sent off several horsemen in order to see what direction I had pursued, and he expressed his satisfaction that I had come to him of my own free will; but, on the other hand, he did not fail to remind me that on my former passage through the country I had not given them anything on account of the powerful protection of Elaíji, which I enjoyed at that time. This was very true; and in consequence I had here to make presents to four different persons, although I only remained half a day: first, this little officious friend of mine; then the governor of the town himself, together with his liege lord, the chief of Marádi; and finally, Sadíku, the former Púllo governor of Kátsena, who at present resided in this town.

Having satisfied the serkí-n-turáwa, I wrapped a bernús and a shawl or zubéta in a handkerchief, and went to pay my respects to the governor, whose name, as I have stated on a former occasion, is Raffa, and whom I found to be a pleasant old fellow. He was well satisfied with his present, though he expressed his apprehension that his liege lord the prince of Marádi, who would not fail to hear of my having passed through the country, would demand something for himself; and he advised me, therefore, to send to that chief a few medicines.

I then rode to Sadíku, the son of the famous Mállem 'Omáro, or Ghomáro, who had been eight years governor of Kátsena, after the death of his father, till having excited the fear or wrath of his liege lord, in consequence of calumnies representing him as endeavouring to make himself independent, he was deposed by 'Alíyu the second successor of Bello, and obliged to seek safety among the enemies of his nation. Sadíku was a stately person, of tall figure, a serious expression of countenance, and a high, powerful chest, such as I have rarely seen in Negroland, and still less among the tribe of the Fúlbe. However, he is not a pure Púllo, being the offspring of a Bórnu female slave. He had something melancholy about him; and this was very natural, as he could not well be sincerely beloved by those among whom he was obliged to live, and in whose company he carried on a relentless war against his kinsmen. Sadíku's house, which was in the utmost decay, was a convincing proof, either that he

was in reality miserably off, or that he felt obliged to pretend poverty and misery. He understood Arabic tolerably well, although he only spoke very little. He expressed much regret on hearing of the death of Mr. Overweg, whom he had known during his residence in Marádi; but having heard how strictly Europeans adhere to their promise, he expressed his astonishment that he had never received an Arabic New Testament, which Mr. Overweg had promised him. But I was glad to be able to inform him that it was not the fault of my late lamented companion, who, I knew, had forwarded a copy to him, by way of Zínder, immediately after his arrival in Kúkawa. Fortunately I had a copy or two of the New Testament with me, and therefore made him very happy by adding this book to the other little presents which I gave him. When I left the company of this man, I was obliged to take a drink of furá with Serkí-n-turáwa—however, not as a proof of sincere hospitality, but as a means of begging some further things from me; and I was glad at length to get rid of this troublesome young fellow.

Friday, February 4th. We had been so fortunate as to be joined here at Gazáwa by two small parties belonging to the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí, when, having taken in a sufficient supply of water, and reloaded all our firearms, we commenced our march, about half-past two o'clock in the morning, through the unsafe wilderness which intervenes between the independent Háusa states and that of the Fúlbe. The forest was illumed by a bright moonlight; and we

pursued our march without interruption for nearly twelve hours, when we encamped about five miles beyond the melancholy site of Dánkamá, very nearly on the same spot where I had halted two years before. We were all greatly fatigued; and a *soi-disant* sherif from Morocco, but originally, as it seemed, belonging to the Tájakánt, who had attached himself to my caravan in Zínder in order to reach Timbúktu in my company, felt very sickly. He had suffered already a great deal in Zínder, and ought not to have exposed his small store of strength to such a severe trial. Not being able to have regard to his state of health, as there was no water here, we pursued our journey soon after midnight, and reached the well-known walls of Kátsena after a march of about six hours.

It was with a peculiar feeling that I pitched my tent a few hundred yards from the gate (kófa-n-samrí) of this town, by the governor of which I had been so greatly annoyed on my first entering this country. It was not long before several A'sbenáwa people belonging to A'nnur, followed by the servants of the governor, came to salute me; and after a little while I was joined by my old tormentor the Tawáti merchant Bel-Ghét. But our meeting this time was very different from what it had been when I first saw him; for as soon as he recognized me, and heard from me that I was come to fulfil my promise of paying a visit to the sultan of Sókoto, he could not restrain his delight and excitement, and threw himself upon my

neck, repeating my name several times. In fact his whole behaviour changed from this moment; and although he at times begged a few things from me, and did not procure me very generous treatment from the governor, yet, on the whole, he behaved friendly and decently. He asked me repeatedly why I had not gone to Kanó; but I told him that I had nothing to do with Kanó, that in conformity with my promise I had come to Kátsena, and that here I should make all my purchases, in order to undertake the journey to Sókoto from this place under the protection of its governor Mohammed Bello. Now, I must confess that I had another motive for not going to Kanó besides this; for the vizier of Bórnu had made it a condition that I should not go to Kanó, as my journey to the Fúlbe would else be displeasing to himself and the sheikh, by interfering with their policy, and I had found it necessary to consent to his wishes, although I foresaw that it would cause me a heavy loss, as I might have bought all the articles of which I was in want at a far cheaper rate in the great central market of Negroland than I was able to do in Kátsena.

I staid outside the town until the following morning, while my quarters in the town were preparing. There was an animated intercourse along my place of encampment, between the old capital and the new place Wagóje, which the governor had founded two years before; and I received the compliments of several active Fúlbe, whose expressive countenances bore sufficient evidence of the fact that their habits were

not yet spoiled by the influence of the softer manners of the subjected tribe, although such an amalgamation has already begun to take place in many parts of Háusa.

The house which was assigned to me inside the town was spacious, but rather old, and so full of ants that I was obliged to take the greatest care to protect not only my luggage, but my person from these voracious insects. They not only destroyed everything that was suspended on pegs from the walls, but while sitting one day for an hour or so on a clay bank in my room I found, when I got up, a large hole in my tobe, — these clever and industrious miners having made their way through the clay walls to the spot where I was sitting, successfully constructed their covered walks, and voraciously attacked my shirt, all in an hour's time.

My present to the governor consisted of a very fine blue bernús, a kaftan of fine red cloth, a small pocket pistol, two muslin turbans, a red cap, two loaves of sugar, and some smaller articles. The eccentric man received me with undisguised pleasure as an old acquaintance; but being aware that I had a tolerable supply of handsome articles with me, he wanted to induce me to sell to him all the fine things I possessed: but I cut the matter short by telling him, once for all, that I was not a merchant, and did not engage in any commerce. On the whole, he was well pleased with his presents; but he wanted me to give him another small pistol, and, in the course of my stay

here, I was obliged to comply with his request. He had a cover made for the pair, and used to carry them constantly about his person, frightening everybody by firing off the caps into their faces.

It was, no doubt, a very favourable circumstance for me that the ghaladíma of Sókoto was at this time staying here; for under the protection of the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena, I should scarcely have reached the residence of the emír el Múmenín in safety. The ghaladíma, who was the inspector of Kátsena as well as of Zánfara, had collected the tribute of both provinces, and was soon to start, with his treasure and the articles he had purchased there, on his home journey, so that there did not seem to be time enough for sending some of my people to Kanó to make there the necessary purchases; but circumstances, which I shall soon mention, delayed us so much that there would have been ample opportunity for doing so, and thus saving a considerable sum of money. The ghaladíma was a simple, straightforward man, not very intelligent, certainly, nor generous, but good-natured and sociable. Born of a female slave, he had very little about him of the general characteristics of the Fúlbe, being tall and broad-shouldered, with a large head, broad features, and tolerably dark complexion.

I made some considerable purchases in this place, amounting altogether to 1,308,000 shells, employing the greatest part of my cash in providing myself with the cotton and silk manufactures of Kanó and

Núpe, in order to pave my way, by means of these favourite articles, through the countries on the middle course of the Niger, where nothing is esteemed more highly than these native manufactures.* But, as I afterwards found out, I sustained a considerable loss in buying the Núpe tobes here, at least 20 per cent. dearer than I should have been able to do in Gando; but this I could not possibly know beforehand, nor was it my previous intention to make any stay in that place, where large parcels of these articles are never brought into the market. I also added to my store a few more articles of Arab manufacture, there having arrived, on the 5th of March, a very numerous caravan of Ghadámsi and other people from the north, with

* I bought here altogether 75 túrkedís or woman-cloths, which form the usual standard article in Timbúktu, and from which narrow shirts for the males are made; 35 black tobes of Kanó manufacture; 20 ditto of Núpe manufacture; 20 silk of different descriptions; 232 black shawls for covering the face, as the best presents for the Tawárek. I also bought here, besides, four very good cloth bernúses from some Tawát traders lately arrived from their country with horses, and some other little merchandise, and half a dozen of "hamaíl," or sword-hangings, of red silk of Fás manufacture. I also provided myself here with water-skins and kulábu, or large skins for covering the luggage for the whole of my journey. No place in the whole of Negroland is so famous for excellent leather and the art of tanning as Kátsena: and if I had taken a larger supply of these articles with me it would have been very profitable; but of course these leather articles require a great deal of room. I also bought a good quantity of the tobacco of Kátsena, which is held in great estimation even in Timbúktu, whither the excellent tobacco from Wádí Nún is brought in considerable quantity.

not less than from 400 to 500 camels, but without bringing me even a single line, either from my friends in Europe or even from those in Africa. Having likewise arranged with 'Alí el A'geren the Méjebrí who had accompanied me from Kúkawa, buying from him what little merchandise he had, and taking him into my service for nine dollars a month, I prepared everything for my journey; and I was extremely anxious to be gone, as the rainy season was fast approaching. On the 26th of February evident signs were observed of the approach of the wet season,—the whole southern quarter of the heavens being thickly overcast with clouds, while the air also was extremely damp, just as after a shower. Mounting on horseback, in order to observe better these forerunners of the "dámana," I clearly distinguished that it was raining in the direction of Záriya and Núpe; and even in our immediate neighbourhood a few drops fell. In the course of the evening the freshness and coolness of the air was most delicious, just as is the case after a fall of rain; and summer lightning was flashing through the southern sky.

The ghaladíma also was very anxious to be gone; but the army of the Góberáwa being ready to start on an expedition, on a grand scale, against the territory of the Fúlbe, we could not leave the place before we knew exactly what direction the hostile army would take. They having at length set out on their foray, on the 7th of March, we began to watch their movements very anxiously, each of these two powers,

— the independent pagans as well as the conquering Fúlbe, — having in their pay numbers of spies in the towns of their enemies. Only two days before the Góberáwa left their home, they killed Bú-Bakr the chief spy whom 'Alíyu, the sultan of Sókoto, entertained in their town.

In the company of the ghaladíma there was a younger brother of his, of the name of Al-háttu, who had lost the better portion of the character of a free man by a mixture of slave-blood, and behaved, at times, like the most intolerable beggar; but he proved of great service to me in my endeavour to become acquainted with all the characteristic features of the country and its inhabitants.

Besides this man, my principal acquaintance during my stay in Kátsena this time was a Tawáti of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, a very amiable and social man, and, as a fáki, possessing a certain degree of learning. He had been a great friend of the sultan Bello, and expatiated with the greatest enthusiasm on the qualities and achievements of this distinguished ruler of Negroland. He also gave me the first hints of some of the most important subjects relating to the geography and history of Western Negroland, and called my attention particularly to a man whom he represented as the most learned of the present generation of the inhabitants of Sókoto, and from whom, he assured me, I should not fail to obtain what information I wanted. This man was 'Abd el Káder

dan Taffa (meaning, the son of Mústapha), on whose stores of knowledge I drew largely. My intercourse with 'Abd e' Rahmán was occasionally interrupted by an amicable tilt at our respective creeds. On one occasion, when my learned friend was endeavouring to convince me of the propriety of polygamy, he adduced as an illustration, that in matters of the table we did not confine ourselves to a single dish, but took a little fowl, a little fish, and a little roast beef; and how absurd, he argued, was it, to restrict ourselves, in the intercourse with the other sex, to only one wife. It was during my second stay in Kátsena that I collected most of the information which I have communicated on a former occasion with regard to the history of Háusa.

Besides this kind of occupation, my dealings with the governor, and an occasional ride which I took through and outside the town, I had a great deal to do in order to satisfy the claims of the inhabitants upon my very small stock of medicinal knowledge, especially at the commencement of my residence, when I was severely pestered with applications, having generally from 100 to 200 patients in my courtyard every morning. The people even brought me sometimes animals to cure; and I was not a little amused when they once brought me a horse totally blind, which they thought I was able to restore to its former power of vision.

Living in Kátsena is not so cheap as in most other places of Negroland — at least we thought so at the

time, but we afterwards found Sókoto, and many places between that and Timbúktu, much dearer; but the character of dearth in Kátsena is increased by the scarcity of shells in the market, which form the standard currency, and, especially after I had circulated a couple of hundred dollars, I was often obliged to change a dollar for 2300 shells instead of 2500.

I had here a disagreeable business to arrange; for suddenly, on the 18th of March, there arrived our old creditor Mohammed e' Sfáksí, whose claims upon us I thought I had settled long ago by giving him a bill upon Fezzán, besides the sum of two hundred dollars which I had paid him on the spot*: but, to my great astonishment, he produced a letter, in which Mr. Gagliuffi, Her Majesty's agent in Múrzuk, informed him that I was to pay him in Sudán.

Such is the trouble to which a European traveller is exposed in these countries, by the injudicious arrangements of those very people whose chief object ought to be to assist him, while at the same time all his friends in Europe think that he is well provided, and that he can proceed on his difficult errand without obstacle.

On the 19th of March we received information that the army of the Góberáwa had encamped on the site of the former town of Róma, or Rúma; and I was given to understand that I must hold myself in readiness to march at an hour's notice.

* See Vol. III. p. 473.

Meanwhile the governor of Kátsena, who had received exaggerated accounts of the riches which I was carrying with me, was endeavouring, by every means at his disposal, to separate me from the ghaladíma, in order to have me in his own power; and his measures were attended with a good deal of success, at least in the case of my Arab companion 'Alí el A'geren, who, although a man of some energy, allowed himself too often to be frightened by the misrepresentations of the people. On his attempting to keep me back, I told him that, if he chose, he might stay behind, but that I had made up my mind to proceed at once, in company with the ghaladíma, whatever might happen. I had the more reason to beware of the governor, as just at the period of this my second stay here, when he knew that I was going to his liege lord, I had had another opportunity of becoming fully aware of the flagrant injustice exercised by him and his ministers. For the sheríf, who, as I have said, had attached himself to my party in Zínder, having died here of dysentery soon after our arrival, he seized upon what little property he had left, notwithstanding that person had placed himself, in some respects, under my protection; and although he pretended he would send it to his relatives, there is no doubt that he or his people kept it back. The safety of the property of any European who should die in these regions ought to be taken into account in any treaty to be concluded with a native chief; but no such contingency was provided for in draughts of the treaties which we took with us.

Dr BARTH'S TRAVELS
IN NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA
MAP OF THE ROUTES
between
KANÓ, KÁTSENA & SAY
in the years
1853 & 1854.
ZABÉRMA
AREWÁ OR MAÚRI
GÓBER
MARADI
SOKOTO
PROVINCE OF KEBBI
HÁUSA STATES
PROV. OF ZÁNFARA
PROV. OF KÁTSENA
PROV. OF KANÓ
SONGHAY
DENDINA
GANDÓ
KÁTSENA
KANÓ

CHAP. LVI.

JOURNEY FROM KÁTSENA TO SÓKOTO.

Monday, March 21st.

The whole town was in motion when we left; for the governor himself was to accompany us for some days' journey, as the whole country was exposed to the most imminent danger, and further on he was to send a numerous escort along with us. It was a fine morning, and, though the rainy season had not yet set in in this province, many of the trees were clad already in a new dress, as if in anticipation of the fertilizing power of the more favoured season.

The hájilíj had begun, about the commencement of March, to put out new foliage and shoots of young fruit; and the dorówa or *Parkia* exhibited its blossoms of the most beautiful purple, hanging down to a great length from the branches. The dorówa, which is entirely wanting in the whole of Bórnu, constitutes here the chief representative of the vegetable kingdom. It is from the beans of this tree that the natives prepare the vegetable cakes called "dodówa," with which they season their food.* Next to this tree another one, which I had not seen before, called here "rúnhu," and at present full of small yellow blossoms, was most common.

* See the description which Clapperton gives of the manner in which these cakes are prepared. (Denham and Clapperton's Travels, ii. p. 125.)

The first day we made only a short march of about three miles, to a village called Kabakáwa, where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters. I had scarcely dismounted, under a tree at the side of the village, when my protector called upon me, and in a very friendly manner invited me, urgently, to take up my quarters inside the village, stating that the neighbourhood was not quite safe, as the Góberáwa had carried away three women from this very village the preceding day. I, however, preferred my tent and the open air, and felt very little inclination to confide my valuable property, on which depended entirely the success of my enterprise, to the frail huts, which are apt to catch fire at any moment; for while I could not combat against nature, I had confidence enough in my arms, and in my watchfulness, not to be afraid of thieves and robbers.*

In the afternoon the ghaladíma came out of the hamlet, and took his seat under a neighbouring tree, when I returned his visit of the morning, and endeavoured to open with him and his companions a free and unrestrained intercourse; for I was only too happy to get out of the hands of the lawless governor of Kátsena, who, I felt convinced, would not have been deterred by any scruples from possessing himself of my riches: indeed he had gone so far as to tell me that, if I possessed anything of value, such as pistols handsomely mounted, I should give them to him rather than to the sultan of Sókoto, for that

* The wells here were eight fathoms.

he himself was the emír el Múmenín; nay, he even told me that his liege lord was alarmed at the sight of a pistol.

In order to avoid the enemy, we were obliged, instead of following a westerly direction, to keep at first directly southward. The country through which our road lay was very beautiful. The dorówa, which, the preceding day, had formed the principal ornament of the landscape, in the first part of this day's march gave place entirely to other trees, such as the tall rími or bentang tree, the kúka or monkey-bread tree, and the deléb palm or gigiña (*Borassus flabelliformis?*); but beyond the village of Dóka, the dorówa, which is the principal tree of the provinces of Kátsena and Záriya, again came prominently forward, while the kadéña also, or butter tree, and the alléluba, afforded a greater variety to the vegetation. The alléluba (which, on my second stay at Kanó, I saw in full blossom) bears a small fruit, which the natives eat, but which I never tried myself. Even the dúm palm, with its fan-shaped yellow-coloured foliage, gave occasionally greater relief to the fresher vegetation around. The country was populous and well cultivated; and extensive tobacco-grounds and large fields of yams or gwáza were seen, —both objects being almost a new sight to me; for tobacco, which I had been so much surprised to see cultivated to such an extent in the country of the pagan Músgu, is scarcely grown at all in Bórnu, with the exception of Zínder, and I had first observed

Tuesday, March 22nd.

it largely cultivated near the town of Kátsena, while yams, as I have already had repeatedly occasion to mention, are not raised at all in Central Negroland. Numerous herds of cattle were seen dotting the landscape, and contributed largely to the interest of the scenery. But the district of Máje especially, which we traversed after a march of about seven miles, impressed me with the highest opinion of the fertility and beauty of this country. Here, also, we met a troop of Itísan with their camels.

Having then proceeded for about two miles through a more open and well-cultivated country with extensive cotton-grounds, large plantations of indigo, and wide fields planted with sweet potatoes, or dánkali, we reached the village called Kúlkadá, where the governor of Kátsena had taken up his quarters; but, leaving this outlaw at a respectful distance, we followed in the track of the ghaladíma, who had been obliged to seek for quarters in a small Tawárek hamlet at the distance of a mile and a half towards the south-east, — a remarkable resting-place for a party proceeding to the westward. The heat was very great; and the dorówa trees, with their scanty acacia-like foliage, which, besides a few gonda trees (*Carica Papaya*) and a solitary ngábbore, were the only members of the vegetable kingdom here seen, afforded but insufficient shade, the dryness of the country being the more felt, as the supply of water was rather limited.

I was hospitably treated in the evening, not only

by the ghaladíma, who sent me a sheep, but even by the inhabitants of the hamlet, who came to visit me in large numbers. I learnt that they were Imghád, natives of Tawár Nwaijdúd, the village which I passed on my road from Tintéllust to A'gades*, and that they had seen me in A'sben, and knew all about my affairs. They were settled here as tenants.

Wednesday, March 23rd.

I had just mounted my horse, and my camels had gone on in advance, when a messenger arrived, who had been sent after me from Kátsena, bringing a letter from Mr. Gagliuffi, Her Majesty's agent in Múrzuk, a mere duplicate of a letter already received, with reference to the sending of the box (which, however, did not reach me), but not a single line from Europe. We had to retrace our road all the way to Kúlkadá, and from thence, after a march of about six miles through a dense forest, reached the walled town of Kúrayé, and, not being aware that the country on the other side was more open and offered a far better camping-ground, pitched our tent on that side whence we had come, not far from the market-place, consisting of several rows of stalls or sheds. A market was held in the afternoon; and we bought grain and onions, but looked in vain for the favourite fruit of the tamarind tree, to which we were greatly indebted for the preservation of our health.

The town was of considerable size, and contained from 6000 to 7000 inhabitants, but no clay buildings.

* See Vol. I. p. 391.

The wall was in excellent repair, and well provided with loopholes for the bowmen, and it was even strengthened by a second wall, of lesser height, on the outside. The town has three gates. The wells were three fathoms in depth.

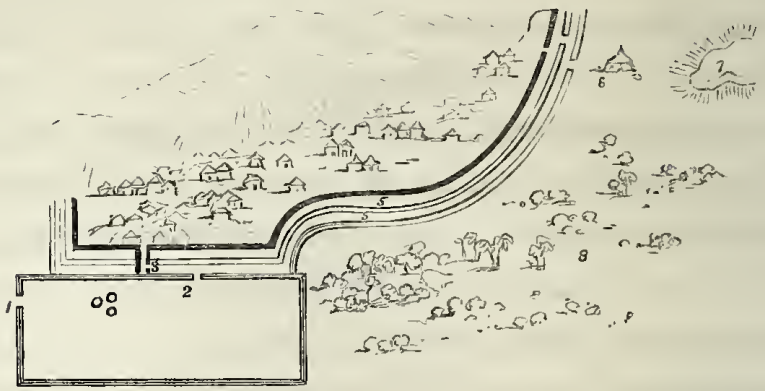
Thursday, March 24th. The country on the other side of the town of Kúrayé seemed to surpass in beauty the district which we had left behind us; and the bentang tree, the sacred tree of the former pagan inhabitants, rose here to its full majestic growth, while, besides the dorówa and the butter tree, the ngábbore (or sycamore) and the dúnnia appeared in abundance. The cultivation was here limited to sorghum or Indian millet. After awhile the ground became rather undulating, and we had to cross several small watercourses, at present dry, while boulders of granite protruded here and there. The path was enlivened by the several troops of horsemen which constituted our expeditionary corps. There was first the governor of Kátsena himself, with a body of about 200 horse; then there was an auxiliary squadron of about fifty horse, sent by Démbo the governor of Kazáure; and lastly Káura, the serkí-n-yáki, or commander-in-chief of Kátsena, with a body of about thirty-five well-mounted troopers. This officer, at the present time, is the most warlike man in the province of Kátsena, and had greatly contributed to the overthrow and disgrace of Sadíku the former governor, in the hope that the government of the province might fall to his share; but he had been

sadly disappointed in his expectations. As for the ghaladíma, he had about twenty mounted companions, the most warlike among whom was a younger brother of his, of the name of 'Omár, or Ghomáro, who was descended from a Púllo mother, and, on account of his noble birth, had better claims to the office of ghaladíma than his brother. Most of these troopers were very fantastically dressed, in the Háusa fashion, and in a similar manner to those I have described on a former occasion. Some of the horses were fine, strong animals, although in height they are surpassed by the Bórnu horses.

We watered our cattle in a kúrremi or dry watercourse, which contained a number of wells from one fathom to a fathom and a half in depth, and was beautifully skirted with deléb palms, while a granite mound on its eastern shore, rose to an altitude of from eighty to a hundred feet. I ascended it, but did not obtain a distant view. Near this watercourse the cultivation was a little interrupted; but further on the country became again well cultivated, broken here and there by some underwood, while the monkey-bread tree, the dúm palm, great numbers of a species of acacia called "árred," and the "merké" dotted the fields. The latter tree, which I have mentioned on a former occasion, bears a fruit which, when mixed with the common native grain, is said to preserve horses from worms.

Thus we reached the town of Kúrrefi, or Kúlfi, and were not a little puzzled by the very considerable

outworks, consisting of moats, which the inhabitants had thrown up in front of their town, besides the threefold wall, and the double moat which surrounded the latter, as shown in the woodcut.



1. Outer entrance, leading into a large square surrounded with a double moat, and containing three huts for the guards.
2. Second entrance, leading from this outwork through the outer moat which surrounds the town.
3. Gate leading into the projecting angle of the wall, from which a second gate leads into the town.
4. Granite mounts inside the town.
5. Outer moats of the wall.
6. Situation of my tent.
7. Granite mount outside the town.
8. Open pasture-grounds.

The town was said to have been founded only three years before, being peopled from the remains of other places, which were destroyed by the enemy. It may contain from 8000 to 9000 inhabitants; but it had recently suffered from a conflagration. The wall was full of loopholes, and it had a gate on each side except the eastern one.

Having made our way with great difficulty through the moats, instead of taking up our quarters inside the wall, to the great astonishment of the people we pitched our tent outside, at some distance from the

western gate. Such was the confidence which we placed in our firearms. A rocky eminence, such as are met with also inside the town, started up at some little distance from our camping-ground; and a majestic dorówa, the largest tree of this species which I saw on my journey, shaded the place to a considerable extent, but attracted a number of people, who disturbed my privacy. The ghaladíma had taken a northerly road, to the town of Tsaúrí, which he had recently founded, and did not arrive till the afternoon.

Friday, March 25th.

On mounting my horse in the morning to pursue my march, a Púllo came up to me and handed me a letter, which he begged me to take to a relative of his in Timbúktu. This showed his full confidence in my success; and it did not fail to inspire me with the same feeling. The inhabitants of the town marched out their band of musicians, who played a farewell to us; and the several troops of horsemen, in their picturesque attire, thronged along the path winding between the granite mounds which broke the level on all sides. Groups of deléb and dúm palms towered, with their fan-shaped foliage, over the whole scenery.

We had now entered the more unsafe border country between the Mohammedans and pagans, while changing our direction from south to west; and the cultivation was less extensive, although even here a little cotton was to be seen. After a march of about

eight miles we traversed the site of a deserted town called Takabáwa, inclosed between rocky cliffs on all sides, and at present changed into a large cotton-ground, the inhabitants having sought refuge in the more rocky district towards the south. But although the destructive influence which war had exercised upon this province was plainly manifested by the site of another town which we passed soon afterwards, yet the country was not quite deserted, and even small herds of cattle were observed further on. Meanwhile the dúm palm became entirely predominant, and rocky cliffs and eminences continued to break the surface; but beyond a rocky ridge which, dotted with an abundance of monkey-bread trees, crossed our path, the country became more level and open, enlivened by herds, and exhibiting an uninterrupted tract of cultivation.

Thus we reached the walls of the considerable town of Zékka, and here again we had to make our way with difficulty through the moats which started off from the walls as a sort of outwork, when we pitched our tent on the west side, in the shade of two large dorówa trees. Even here I did not choose to take up my quarters inside the town, which was full of people. Besides those detachments which had come along with us, there arrived here also an auxiliary troop of 110 horse from Záriya, together with the governor of U'mmadaú with twenty horsemen. The Kanáwa, or people of Kanó, who were proceeding to Sókoto, had continued their march

straight to U'mmadaú, in order to take up their quarters in that place.

Besides numbers of sick people from the town, who came to solicit my medical assistance, I received also a visit in the evening from one of the five governors of the place, who bears the title of serkí-n-Féllani. He came to ask whether I had not for sale another pair of pocket pistols, such as I had given to the governor of Kátsena; for my eccentric friend played with the small arms I had made him a present of, all the day long, to the great alarm of everybody, so that the rumour of my possessing such articles had spread over the whole of this part of Sudán, and even Kaúra had pestered me greatly on this account.

In the town of Zékka resides also the former governor of the wealthy town or district of Rúma, mentioned repeatedly by Captain Clapperton, but destroyed by the Góberáwa after the period of his travels; that officer still bears the title of serkí-n-Rúma. There was a pond of dirty water near our encampment; but good drinkable water was only to be obtained from a watercourse at a considerable distance, which, although dry at present, afforded wells at very little depth in its gravelly bottom.

Saturday, March 26th.

We remained here the whole forenoon, as we had now the most difficult part of our journey before us; but instead of having leisure to prepare myself for an unusual amount of exertion, all my spare time was taken up by a disagreeable

business, — the governor of Kátsena having succeeded in seducing from my service, in the most disgraceful manner, the Ferjáni Arab, whom I had hired for the whole journey to Timbúktu and back, and whom I could ill afford to lose. This lad, who had accompanied Ibrahím Bashá's expedition to Syria and an expedition to Kordofán, and who had afterwards resided with the Welád Slimán for some time in Kánem, might have been of great use to me in case of emergency. But, as it was, I could only be grateful to Providence for ridding me of this faithless rogue at so cheap a rate: and the insidious governor at least had no reason to boast of his conduct; for the Arab, as soon as he found himself well mounted, and dressed in a bernús, by his new master, took to his heels, and, following the track with which he had become acquainted in my company, succeeded in reaching Zínder, and from thence returned to his native country.

We here separated from most of our companions, —the governor of Kátsena, as well as the people from Kanó and Záriya, who were carrying tribute to the sultan of Sókoto, remaining behind, and only an escort or "rékkia" of fifty horsemen continuing in our company. The hostile army of the Góberáwa being in this neighbourhood, the danger of the road further on was very considerable; and the Kanáwa and Zozáwa or Zegézegé, of whom the latter carried 2,000,000 shells, 500 tobes, and 30 horses, as tribute, were too much afraid of their property to accompany

us. There had also arrived a troop of about 100 fatáki with asses laden entirely with the famous dodówa cakes; but they also remained behind.

The governor himself, however, escorted us for a mile or two, to a large korámma called Mejídi, which no doubt forms one of the branches of the korámma of Búnka, and contains several wells, where we watered our horses and filled our water-skins for a night's march. Fine cotton-grounds and fields of onions fringed the border of the valley.

As soon as we left this winding watercourse, we entered a dense forest only occasionally broken by open spots covered with reed grass, and we pursued our march without interruption the whole night, with the exception of a short halt just in the dusk of the evening. I had taken the lead from the beginning; and the ghaladíma, who was fully sensible of the great advantage of my firearms, sent messenger after messenger to me till he brought me to a stand, and thus managed to get all his slaves and camels in advance, so that I could only proceed very slowly. After a march of little more than twelve miles from the korámma, we entered a fertile and picturesque sort of vale, inclosed towards the north and south by rocky cliffs, and intersected by a narrow strip of succulent herbage, where water is apparently to be found at a little depth. This is the site of the town of Moníya, which had likewise been destroyed by the Góberáwa three years previously. Their army had even encamped here the previous day; and when our

companions found the traces of their footsteps, which indicated that they had taken an easterly direction, all the people were seized with fright, and the intention which had been entertained, of resting here for a few hours of the night, was given up, and with an advanced guard of twenty horse, and a guard of from fifty to sixty, we kept cautiously and anxiously on.

About midnight we again entered dense forest, consisting chiefly of underwood. We marched the whole night, and emerged in the morning into open cultivated country. We then passed several small hamlets, and, crossing first a small and further on a larger watercourse, reached, a little before nine o'clock, the considerable place Búnka, surrounded by a clay wall about twelve feet in height, and by a half natural half artificial stockade of dense forest. In this town, the governor of which is directly dependent upon the ghaladíma of Sókoto, my protector had taken quarters; but, true to my old principle, I here also preferred encamping outside, and, turning round the town, on the south side, along a very winding and narrow passage through dense prickly underwood, I pitched my tent on the west side, in the midst of an open suburb consisting of several straggling groups of huts.

The inhabitants of the village proved to be industrious and sociable, and, soon after we had encamped, brought me several articles for sale, such as good strong ropes, of which we were greatly in want. In general a traveller cannot procure good ropes in these

countries; and, for an expedition on a larger scale, he does well to provide himself with this article. The ropes made of ngille or the dúm bush last only a few days; and those made of hides, which are very useful in the dry season, for tying up the legs of the camels, and even for fastening the luggage, are not fit for the rainy season. We also bought here a good supply of tamarinds, plenty of fowls (for from thirty to forty kurdí each), and a little milk. Part of the inhabitants of this village, at least, consisted of A'sbenáwa settlers; and they informed us that the army of the Góberáwa had come close to their town, but that they had driven them back.

The town itself, though not large, is tolerably well inhabited, containing a population of about 5000. It is skirted on the east side by a considerable watercourse, at present dry, but containing excellent water close under the gravelly surface, and forming a place of resort for numbers of the grey species of monkey.

The approach of the rainy season was indicated by a slight fall of rain.

Monday, March 28th.

The ghaladíma, whom the imminence of the danger had induced to fix his departure for the next day, instead of allowing a day for repose, had already gone on in advance a considerable way, when we followed him, and soon after left on our right a large cheerful-looking hamlet, shaded by splendid trees, and enlivened by numbers of poultry. Extensive cultivated grounds testified to the industry of

the inhabitants, who likewise belonged to a tribe of the A'sbenáwa, or rather to a mixed race of people. Having then crossed dense underwood, where the *Mimosa Nilotica*, here called "elkú," was standing in full blossom, while the ground consisted of sand, we reached, after a march of about a mile, the south-eastern corner of the wall of the considerable town of Zýrmi. The watercourse of Búnka had been close on our left, providing the inhabitants with a never-failing supply of excellent water, which is found close under the surface of the fine gravel which composes its bed.

Zýrmi is an important town even at present, but, being under the dominion of the Fúlbe, is only capable of preserving its existence by a constant struggle with Góber and Marádi. However, the governor of this town is not now master of the whole of Zánfara, as he was in the time of Captain Clapperton, who visited it on his journey to Sókoto*, the Fúlbe, or Féllani, having found it more conducive to their policy to place each governor of a walled town, in this province, under the direct allegiance of Sókoto, in order to prevent the loss of the whole country by the rebellion of a single man. Some ninety or one hundred years ago, before the destruction of the capital, this province was almost the most flourishing country of Negroland; but it is at present divided into a number of petty states, each of which follows a different policy;

* Clapperton, Second Expedition, p. 150.

hence it is difficult to know which towns are still dependent upon the dominion of Sókoto, and which adhere to their enemies the Góberáwa.* The town is still tolerably well inhabited, the western more densely than the eastern quarter.

The direct road leads along the wall, and close beyond passes by the site of the former town Dáda; but, in order to water my horse, I descended into the korámma, which was here encompassed by banks about twenty-five feet high, the gradually-shelving slopes of which were laid out in kitchen-gardens, where onions were cultivated. Passing then a tract thickly overgrown with monkey-bread trees, we traversed a straggling village, the whole appearance of which left a feeling of peace and comfort, rather than of the constant state of warfare which prevails in this country. But everything in human life depends on habitude; and these poor people, not knowing any better, bear the state of insecurity to which they are exposed, without uneasiness.

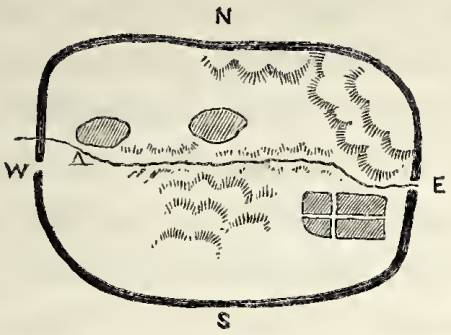
Numerous neat cottages were just being built; and the western end of the village especially, being adorned by several groups of the gónda tree, or *Erica Papaya*, had a very pleasant appearance. Dyeing-pits are not wanting in any of the larger towns of Zánfara; and a numerous herd of cattle met our view close beyond the village.

* For further details on this subject, see Appendix I.; and for an outline of the history of Zánfara, see the Chronological Tables.

When we again reached the direct road, the neighbourhood of our friends was distinctly indicated by a very strong and not quite aromatic smell, which proceeded from the luggage of those of the caravan of native traders (or fatáki) who had attached themselves to our troop in Zékka, leaving their more cautious brethren behind. The merchandise of these small traders consisted, for the most part, of those vegetable cakes, called dodówa, which I have mentioned repeatedly, and which constitute an important article of trade, as the dorówa or *Parkia*, from the fruit of which those cakes are made, thrives in great abundance in the province of Zegzeg, while it is comparatively rare in the provinces of Kébbi and Góber. Three thousand of these cakes constitute an ass-load, and each of them in general is sold in Sókoto for five kurdí, having been bought on the spot for one urí; so that the profit, being not less than 500 per cent., makes this commerce attractive for poor people, notwithstanding the dangerous state to which this road is at present reduced. The return freight which these petty merchants bring back from Sókoto, generally consists of the salt of Fógha.

Our further road conducted us through a more rugged district, intersected by numerous small watercourses with very rocky beds, and mostly covered with dense forest only now and then broken by a small tract of cultivated ground producing even a little cotton. Thus we reached the town of Dúchi, the name of which, meaning "the rocks," served well to

indicate the peculiar nature of the place, which has a very wild and romantic appearance—a labyrinth of



rocky eminences intersected by a small ravine, as shown in the woodcut: the dwellings, which are scattered about in several groups, can scarcely be seen, owing to the prevalence of rocks. Several groups of dúm palms contribute greatly to enhance the picturesque character of the place.

Having got inside the wall, which consisted of loose stones, we had some difficulty in finding a fit spot for encamping, and at length, having traversed the whole place, pitched our tent, not far from the western gate, but still inside the wall, in the shade of a fine tsámia or tamarind tree, and close to a small group of huts. The principal hamlet lies nearer the east side. The little watercourse contained only a very small supply of water under the gravelly surface of the bed; but on my return from the west, in the autumn of the following year, a foaming brook was rushing along it. The interesting character of the scenery induced me, in the course of the night,

to leave my tent and to sit down for a while on a rock, which commanded the whole interior of the town. There I had a charming prospect over the scene by clear moonlight, while people were busily employed the whole night, collecting the small supply of water from the channel, for their next day's wants.

Tuesday, March 29th. In order to pass the narrow gate, if gate it may be called, I was obliged to have the two posts which encompassed it on each side removed. The whole country round about is rocky, with only a slight covering of fertile soil, so that nothing but Indian millet is cultivated, which thrives very well in rocky ground. But the country was adorned with a tolerable variety of trees, such as monkey-bread trees, most of which had young leaves, the dorówa, the kadeña, and the merké. While crossing a small rocky ridge, we were joined by a troop of people bearing large loads of cotton upon their heads, which they were carrying to the considerable market of Badaráwa. This cotton was distinguished by its snow-white colour, and seemed to be of very good quality.

Beyond the rocky ridge, the country became more open, rich in trees and cultivated fields; and having passed a village, we turned round the south-western corner of the walled town of Sabón Bírni, making our way with great difficulty, and not without some damage to the fences as well as to our luggage, through the narrow lanes of an open suburb. The western side of the town was bordered by a korámma containing

a considerable sheet of stagnant water of very bad quality, and fringed all round by a border of kitchen-gardens, where onions were cultivated. The governor of Sabón Bírni, like that of Zýrmi, is directly dependent on the emír of Sókoto. The name or title of his dominion is Bázay.

From hence, along a path filled with market people, we reached the walled town of Badaráwa, which, like most of the towns of Zánfara, is surrounded on all sides with a dense border of timber, affording to the archers, who form the strength of the natives, great advantage in a defence, and making any attack, in the present condition of the strategetical art in this country, very difficult. In the midst of this dense body of trees there was a very considerable market, attended by nearly 10,000 people, and well supplied with cotton *, which seemed to be the staple commodity, while Indian millet (sorghum) also was in abundance. A great number of cattle were slaughtered in the market, and the meat retailed in small quantities. There was also a good supply of fresh butter (which is rarely seen in Negroland), formed in large lumps, cleanly prepared, and swimming in water; they were sold for 500 kurdí each. Neither was there any scarcity of onions, a vegetable which is extensively cultivated in the province of Zánfara, the smaller ones being sold for one urí, the larger ones for two kurdí each. These onions are

* It was extensively cultivated in this province at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (Leo Africanus, lib. vii. c. 13.)

mostly cultivated round a large tebki, about half a mile to the west of the town, which even at the present season was still of considerable size. Instead of entering the narrow streets of the town, I pitched my tent in the open fields, at a considerable distance from the wall; for I was the more in want of fresh air, as I was suffering greatly from headache. The consequence was that I could not even indulge in the simple luxuries of the market, but had recourse to my common medicine of tamarind water.

There was some little danger here, not so much from a foreign foe as from our proximity to a considerable hamlet of Tawárek of the tribe of the Itísan, who have settlements in all these towns of Zánfara. While endeavouring to recruit myself by rest and simple diet, I received a visit from an intelligent and well-behaved young fáki, Mállem Dádi, who belonged to the suite of the ghaladíma, and whose company was always agreeable to me. He informed me that the Zánfaráwa and the Góberáwa had regarded each other with violent hatred from ancient times, — Babári, the founder of Kaláwa, or Alkaláwa, the former capital of Góber, having based the strength and well-being of his own country on the destruction of the old capital of Zánfara, ninety-seven years previously. Hence the people of Zánfara embarked heart and soul in the religious and political rising of the sheikh 'Othmán against his liege lord the ruler of Góber. I learned also that the same amount of tribute, which I have before mentioned as carried on this occasion

by the messengers of Záriya to the emír el Múmenín, was paid almost every second month, while from Kátsena it was very difficult to obtain a regular tribute, the governor of that town generally not paying more than 400,000 kurdí and forty articles, such as bernúses, kaftans, &c., annually. It was only an exceptional case, arising from the exertions of the ghaladíma as I was told, that he had sent, this year, 800,000 shells, besides a horse of Tárki breed, of the nominal value of 700,000 kurdí.

Wednesday, March 30th.

Allowing my camels to pursue the direct road, I myself took a rather roundabout way, in order to get a sight of the tebki from which the town is supplied; and I was really astonished at the considerable expanse of clear water which it exhibited at this time of the year (shortly before the setting in of the rainy season), when water in the whole of Negroland becomes very scanty. The ground consisted of fine vegetable soil, while the cultivation along the path was scarcely interrupted; and in passing a hamlet we saw the inhabitants making the first preparations for the labours of the field. Cotton was also cultivated to a considerable extent. About a mile and a half further on, at the village of Sungúruré, which is surrounded with a strong keffi, I observed the first rúdu, a sort of light hut consisting of nothing but a thatched roof raised upon four poles from eight to ten feet in height, and affording a safe retreat to the inhabitants, during their night's rest, against the swarms of mosquitoes

which infest the whole region along the swampy creeks of the Niger, the people entering these elevated bedrooms from below, and shutting the entrance behind them, as represented in the accompanying woodcut.

Leaving, then, the walled town of Katúru close on our left, we entered a dense forest richly interwoven with creeping plants, and intersected by a large korámma with a very uneven bottom, affording sufficient proof of the vehemence of the torrent which at times rushes along it. At present it contained nothing but pools of stagnant water in several places, where we observed a large herd of camels, belonging to a party of Itísan, just being watered, while tobacco was cultivated on the border of the korámma. A little further on, the torrent had swept away and undermined the banks in such a manner that they presented the appearance of artificial walls. We met several natives on the road, who, although Fúlbe or Féllani (that is to say, belonging to the conquering tribe) and themselves apparently Mohammedans, wore nothing but a leather apron round their loins.

Thus we reached, a little past noon, the town Sansánne ʿAísa, which was originally a mere fortified encampment or "sansánne." But its advanced and in some respects isolated position, as an outlying post

against the Góberáwa and Mariyadáwa, rendered it essential that it should be strong enough by its own resources to offer a long resistance; and it has in consequence become a walled town of considerable importance, so that travellers generally take this roundabout way, with a strong northerly deviation. Here also the wall is surrounded with a dense forest, affording a sort of natural fortification.

Having entered the town and convinced myself of its confined and cheerless character, I resolved even here to encamp outside, though at considerable risk; and I went to the well, which was about half a mile distant to the south, and, being five fathoms in depth, contained a rich supply of excellent water. Here a small caravan of people from A'dar, laden with corn and about to return to their native home, were encamped; and I pitched my tent on an open spot, close to some light cottages of Itísan settlers, who immediately brought me a little fresh cheese as a specimen of their industry, and were well satisfied with a present which I made them in return, of a few razors and looking-glasses. These Tawárek are scattered over the whole of Western Súdán, not only frequenting those localities occasionally as traders, but even sometimes settled with their wives and children. Their women also did not fail to pay us a visit in the afternoon; for they are extremely curious and fond of strangers.

When I had made myself comfortable, I received a visit from the ghaladíma of the town; he brought

me the compliments of the governor, who was a man of rather noble birth, being nobody else but 'Alí Káramí, the eldest son and presumed successor of 'Alíyu the emír el Múmenín. He bears the pompous title of serkí-n-Góber, "lord of Góber," although almost the whole of that country is in the hands of the enemy. Having taken his leave, the messenger soon returned accompanied by Alháttu, the younger brother of the ghaladíma of Sókoto, who was anxious to show his importance, bringing me a fat sheep as a present, which I acknowledged by the gift of a fine heláli bernús, besides a red cap and turban; and the governor expressed his satisfaction at my present by sending me also corn for my horses, and half a dozen fowls. In the evening we had a short but violent tornado, which usually indicates the approach of the rainy season; but no rain fell, and we passed the night very comfortably in our open encampment, without any accident.

Thursday, March 31st. We had a very difficult day's march before us, — the passage of the wilderness of Gúndumi,—which can only be traversed by a forced march, and which, even upon a man of Captain Clapperton's energies, had left the impression of the most wearisome journey he had ever performed in his life. But before returning into our westerly direction, we had first to follow a north-westerly path leading to a large pond or tebki, in order to provide ourselves with water for the journey. It was still a good-sized sheet of water, though torn up and

agitated by numbers of men and animals that had preceded our party from the town; and we were therefore very fortunate in having provided ourselves with some excellent clear water from the well close to our place of encampment. The pond was in the midst of the forest, which towards its outskirts presented a cheerful aspect, enlivened by a great number of sycamore trees and even a few deléb palms, but which here assumed the more monotonous and cheerless character which seems to be common to all the extensive forests of Negroland.

The beginning of our march, after we had watered our animals and filled our water-skins, was rather inauspicious, our companions missing their way and with their bugles calling me and my people, who were pursuing the right track, far to the south, till, after endeavouring in vain to make our way through an impervious thicket, and after a considerable loss of time, anything but agreeable at the beginning of a desperate march of nearly thirty hours, we at length with the assistance of a Púllo shepherd regained the right track. We then pursued our march, travelling without any halt the whole day and the whole night through the dense forest, leaving the pond called tebki-n-Gúndumi at some distance on our left, and not meeting with any signs of cultivation till a quarter before eleven the next morning, when, wearied in the extreme and scarcely able to keep up, we were met by some horsemen, who had been sent out from the camp at Gáwasú to meet us, pro-

vided with water-skins in order to bring up the stragglers who had lagged behind from fatigue and thirst. And there were many who needed their assistance — one woman had even succumbed to exhaustion in the course of the night; for such a forced march is the more fatiguing and exhausting as the dangers from a lurking enemy make the greatest possible silence and quiet indispensable, instead of the spirits being kept up with cheerful songs as is usually the case. But having once reached the cultivated grounds, after a march of two miles and a half more we arrived at the first gáwasú trees which surround the village which is named after them, "Gáwasú." In the fields or "kárkará" adjoining this village, 'Alíyu the emír el Múmenín had taken up his camping-ground, and was preparing himself for setting out upon an expedition against the Góber people.

It was well that we had arrived—having been incessantly marching for the last twenty-six hours, without taking into account the first part of the journey from the town to the pond; for I had never seen my horse in such a state of total exhaustion, while my people also fell down immediately they arrived. As for myself, kept up by the excitement of my situation, I did not feel much fatigued, but on the contrary felt strong enough to search without delay through the whole of my luggage, in order to select the choicest presents for the great prince of Sókoto, who was to set out the following morning, and upon whose reception depended a good deal of the suc-

cess of my undertaking. The afternoon wore on without my being called into the presence of the sultan, and I scarcely expected that I should see him that day; but suddenly, after the evening prayer, Alháttu made his appearance with some messengers of the chief, not in order to hasten my present, but first to give me a proof of their own hospitality, and bringing me a very respectable present consisting of an ox, four fat sheep, and two large straw sacks or tákrufa containing about four hundred pounds weight of rice, with an intimation at the same time that ʿAlíyu wished to see me, but that I was not now to take my present with me. I therefore prepared myself immediately; and on going to the sultan's we passed by the ghaladíma, who had been lodged in a courtyard of the village, and who accompanied us.

We found ʿAlíyu in the northern part of the village, sitting under a tree in front of his quarters, on a raised platform of clay. He received me with the utmost kindness and good humour, shaking hands with me and begging me to take a seat just in front of him. Having paid my compliments to him on behalf of the Queen of England, I told him that it had been my intention to have paid him a visit two years previously, but that the losses which we had met with in the first part of our journey had prevented me from carrying out my design. I had scarcely finished my speech, when he himself assured me that at the right time he had received the letter which I had addressed to him through the sultan of

A′gades (informing him of the reason why we could not then go directly to pay him our compliments), and that from that moment up to the present time he had followed our proceedings, and especially my own, with the greatest interest, having even heard at the time a report of my journey to A′damáwa.

I then informed him that in coming to pay him my compliments I had principally two objects in view, — one of which was that he might give me a letter of franchise guaranteeing to all British merchants entire security for themselves and their property in visiting his dominions for trading purposes; and the second, that he might allow me to proceed to Timbúktu, and facilitate my journey to that place (which was greatly obstructed at the present moment by the rebellion of the province of Kebbi) by his own paramount authority. Without reserve he acceded to both my requests in the most cheerful and assuring manner, saying that it would be his greatest pleasure to assist me in my enterprise to the utmost of his power, as it had only humane objects in view, and could not but tend to draw nations together that were widely separated from each other. At the same time he expressed, in a very feeling way, his regret with regard to ʿAbd Allah (Capt. Clapperton), whose name I had incidentally mentioned, intimating that the then state of war, or "gába," between Bello and the sheikh el Kánemí, the ruler of Bórnu, had disturbed their amicable relations with that eminent officer, whom in such a conjuncture they had not

felt justified in allowing to proceed on his errand to their enemy. In order to give him an example how, in the case of foreign visitors or messengers, such circumstances ought not to be taken into account, I took this opportunity to show him that the ruler of Bórnu, although in open hostility with the most powerful of his ('Alíyu's) governors, nevertheless had allowed me, at the present conjuncture, to proceed on my journey to them without the slightest obstacle. He then concluded our conversation by observing that it had been his express wish to see me the very day of my arrival, in order to assure me that I was heartily welcome, and to set my mind at rest as to the fate of Clapperton, which he was well aware could not fail to inspire Europeans with some diffidence in the proceedings of the rulers of Sókoto.

With a mind greatly relieved I returned to my tent from this audience. The dusk of the evening, darkened by thick thunder-clouds, with the thunder rolling uninterruptedly, and lighted up only by the numerous fires which were burning round about in the fields where the troops had encamped under the trees, gave to the place a peculiar and solemn interest, making me fully aware of the momentous nature of my situation. The thunder continued rolling all night long, plainly announcing the approach of the rainy season, though there was no rain at the time. Meanwhile I was pondering over the present which I was to give to this mighty potentate, who had treated me with so much kindness and regard on the first inter-

view, and on whose friendship and protection depended in a great measure the result of my proceedings; and thinking that what I had selected might not prove sufficient to answer fully his expectation, in the morning, when I arose, I still added a few things more, so that my present consisted of the following articles: — a pair of pistols *, richly ornamented with silver, in velvet holsters; a rich bernús (Arab cloak with hood) of red satin, lined with yellow satin; a bernús of yellow cloth; a bernús of brown cloth; a white heláli bernús of the finest quality; a red cloth kaftan embroidered with gold; a pair of red cloth trowsers; a Stambúli carpet; three loaves of sugar; three turbans and a red cap; two pairs of razors; half a dozen large looking-glasses; cloves, and benzoin.

Having tied up these presents in five smart handkerchiefs, and taking another bernús of red cloth with me for the ghaladíma, I proceeded first to the latter, who received his present with acknowledgments, and surveyed those destined for his master with extreme delight and satisfaction. We then went together to 'Alíyu, and found him in a room built of reeds, sitting on a divan made of the light wood of the tukkurúwa;

* I may as well add, that the richly-mounted pistols which chiefly aided me in obtaining the friendship of this powerful chief, as well as another pair which I afterwards gave to Khalílu the ruler of Gando, and also several other things, were paid for with my own money, which was forwarded to Tripoli by my family at the suggestion of the Chevalier Bunsen, as well as two harmonica, one of which I gave to 'Alíyu, and the other to the sheikh el Bakáy.

and it was then for the first time that I obtained a distinct view of this chief, for on my interview the preceding night it had been so dark that I was not enabled to distinguish his features accurately. I found him a stout middle-sized man, with a round fat face exhibiting, evidently, rather the features of his mother, a Háusa slave, than those of his father Mohammed Bello a free and noble Púllo, but full of cheerfulness and good humour. His dress also was extremely simple, and at the same time likewise bore evidence of the pure Púllo character having been abandoned; for while it consisted of scarcely anything else but a tobe of greyish colour, his face was uncovered, while his father Bello, even in his private dwelling, at least before a stranger, never failed to cover his mouth.

He received me this time with the same remarkable kindness which he had exhibited the preceding evening, and repeated his full consent to both my requests, which I then stated more explicitly, requesting at the same time that the letter of franchise might be written at once, before his setting out on his expedition. This he agreed to, but he positively refused to allow me to proceed on my journey before his return from the expedition, which he said would not be long; and, acquainted as I was with the etiquette of these African courts, I could scarcely expect anything else from the beginning. He then surveyed the presents, and expressed his satisfaction repeatedly; but when he beheld the pistols, which

I had purposely kept till the last, he gave vent to his feelings in the most undisguised manner, and, pressing my hands repeatedly, he said, "nagóde, nagóde, barka, 'Abd el Kerím, barka" — "I thank you, God bless you, 'Abd el Kerím, God bless you." He had evidently never before seen anything like these richly-mounted pistols, which had been selected in Tripoli by the connoisseur eyes of Mr. Warrington, and surveyed the present on all sides. It was to these very pistols that I was in a great measure indebted for the friendly disposition of this prince, while the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena, who had heard some report about them, advised me by all means to sell them to himself, as his liege lord would not only not value them at all, but would even be afraid of them.

Soon after I had returned to my tent, the ghaladíma arrived, bringing me from his master 100,000 kurdí, to defray the expenses of my household during his absence; and I had afterwards the more reason to feel grateful for this kind attention, although the sum did not exceed forty Spanish dollars, as I became aware, during my stay in Wurno, how difficult it would have been for me to have changed my dollars into kurdí. I then satisfied my friend Alháttu the younger brother of the ghaladíma, whose behaviour certainly was far from disinterested, but who, nevertheless, had not proved quite useless to me.

Although we were here in the camp outside, and the people busy with their approaching depar-

ture, yet I received visits from several people, and amongst others, that of a Weled Ráshid of the name of Mohammed, who, on my return from Timbúktu followed me to Kúkawa in the company of his countryman the learned A'hmed Wadáwi. This man having left his tribe on the south-eastern borders of Bagírmi, had settled in this place many years before; and having accompanied several expeditions or forays, he gave me an entertaining description of the courage of the Féllani-n-Sókoto, although he had some little disposition to slander, and even related to me stories about the frailties of the female portion of the inhabitants of the capital, which I shall not repeat.

Sunday, April 3rd.

Being anxious that the letter of franchise should be written before the sultan set out, I sent in the morning my broker 'Alí el A'geren, with a pound of Tower-proof gunpowder, to the prince, in order to remind him of his promise; and he returned after a while, bringing me a letter signed with the sultan's seal, which on the whole was composed in very handsome terms, stating that the prince had granted the request of commercial security for English merchants and travellers, which I as a messenger of the Queen of England had made to him. But the letter not specifying any conditions, I was obliged to ask for another paper, written in more distinct terms; and although 'Alíyu's time was of course very limited, as he was just about to set out with his army, even my last request was complied

with, and I declared myself satisfied. I was well aware how extremely difficult it is to make these people understand the forms of the articles in which European governments are wont to conclude commercial treaties. In regions like this, however, it seems almost as if too much time ought not to be lost on account of such a matter of form before it is well established whether merchants will really open a traffic with these quarters; for as soon as, upon the general condition of security, an intercourse is really established, the rulers of those countries themselves become aware that some more definite arrangement is necessary, while, before they have any experience of intercourse with Europeans, the form of the articles in which treaties are generally conceived fills them with the utmost suspicion and fear, and may be productive of the worst consequences to any one who may have to conclude such a treaty.

The sultan was kind enough, before he left in the afternoon, to send me word that I might come and take leave of him; and I wished him with all my heart success in his expedition, as the success of my own undertaking, namely, my journey towards the west, partly depended upon his vanquishing his enemies. Giving vent to his approval of my wishes by repeating that important and highly significant word not more peculiar to the Christian than to the Mohammedan creed, "Amín, amín," he took leave of me, in order to start on his expedition, accompanied only by a small detachment of cavalry, most of the

troops having already gone on in advance. I had also forwarded a present to Hámmedu, the son of 'Atíku an elder brother and predecessor of Bello; but he sent it back to me, begging me to keep it until after his return from the expedition. The ghaladíma also, who was to accompany the sultan, called, before his departure, in order that I might wind round his head a turban of gaudy colours, such as I then possessed, as an omen of success.

After all the people were gone, I myself could not think of passing another night in this desolate place, which is not only exposed to the attacks of men, but even to those of wild beasts. Even the preceding night the hyenas had attacked several people, and had almost succeeded in carrying off a boy, besides severely lacerating one man, who was obliged to return home without being able to accompany the army. An hour, therefore, after the sultan had left his encampment, we ourselves were on our road to Wurno, the common residence of 'Alíyu, where I had been desired to take up my quarters in the house of the ghaladíma; but I never made a more disagreeable journey, short as it was, the provisions which the sultan had given me encumbering us greatly, so that at length we were obliged to give away the heifer as a present to the inhabitants of the village of Gáwasú. It thus happened that we did not reach our quarters till late in the evening; and we had a great deal of trouble in taking possession of them in the dark, having been

detained a long time at the gateway, which itself was wide and spacious, but which was obstructed by a wooden door, while there was no open square at all inside the gate, nor even a straight road leading up from thence into the town, the road immediately dividing and winding close along the wall.

CHAP. LVII.

RESIDENCE IN WURNO.

I SHALL preface the particulars of my residence in Wurno with a short account of the growth of the power of the Fúlbe or Féllani in this quarter, and of the present condition of the empire of Sókoto.

There is no doubt that, if any African tribe deserves the full attention of the learned European, it is that of the Fúlbe (*sing.* Púllo), or Fúla, as they are called by the Mandingoes; Féllani (*sing.* Baféllanchi), by the Háusa people; Felláta, by the Kanúri; and Fullán, by the Arabs. In their appearance, their history, and the peculiar character of their language, they present numerous anomalies to the inhabitants of the adjacent countries. No doubt they are the most intelligent of all the African tribes, although in bodily development they cannot be said to exhibit the most perfect specimens, and probably are surpassed in this respect by the Jolof. But it is their superior intelligence which gives their chief expression to the Fúlbe, and prevents their features from presenting that regularity which we find in other tribes, while the spare diet of a large portion of that tribe does not impart to their limbs all the development of which they

are capable, most of them being distinguished by the smallness of their limbs and the slender growth of their bodies. But as to their outward appearance, which presents various contrasts in complexion as well as in bodily development, we must first take into account that the Fúlbe, as a conquering tribe, sweeping over a wide expanse of provinces, have absorbed and incorporated with themselves different and quite distinct national elements, which have given to their community a rather varying and undecided character.

Moreover, besides such tribes as have been entirely absorbed, and whose origin has even been referred to the supposed ancestors of the whole nation, there are others which, although their pedigree is not brought into so close a connexion with that of the Fúlbe, nevertheless are so intermingled with them, that they have quite forgotten their native idiom, and might be confounded with the former by any traveller who is not distinctly aware of the fact. Prominent among these latter are the Sissílbe, as they call themselves, or Syllebáwa, as they are called in Háusa, whom I shall have occasion to mention on my visit to Sókoto, and who are nothing but a portion of the numerous tribe of the Wákoré or Wángaráwa, to whom belong also the Súsu and the so-called Mandingoes; and while that portion of them who are settled in Háusa have entirely forgotten their native idiom, and have adopted, besides the Fulfúlde language, even the Háusa dialect, their

brethren in the more western province of Zaberma use their own idiom at the present time almost exclusively.

On the other hand, foremost among those tribes who have been entirely absorbed by the community of the Fúlbe are the Toróde or Torunkáwa, who, although they are considered as the most noble portion of the population in most of the kingdoms founded by the Fúlbe, yet evidently owe their origin to a mixture of the Jolof element with the ruling tribe*, and in such a manner that, in point of numbers, the former enjoyed full superiority in the amalgamation; but it is quite evident that, even if we do not take into account the Toróde, the Jolof have entered into the formation of the remarkable tribe of the Fúlbe or Fúla, in a very strong proportion, although the languages of these two tribes at present are so distinct, especially as far as regards grammatical structure; and it is highly interesting that A'hmed Bábá (who, by occasional hints, allows us to form a much better idea of the progress of that tribe, in its spreading over tracts so immense, than we were able to obtain before we became acquainted with his history of Súdán) intimates distinctly that he regards the Jolof as belonging to the great stock

* It is, however, remarkable that, according to Sultan Bello's account, in a passage not translated by Silame, the original idiom of the Toróde was the Wákoro or Wakoré, which, if it be true, would render the Toróde the near kinsfolk of the Sissílbe.

of the Fullán or Fúlbe *, although at the present time the terms "Jolof" and "Púllo" seem to be used in opposition, the one meaning a person of black, the other an individual of red complexion.

It is this element of the Toróde in particular which causes such a great variety in the type of the Fúlbe community, the Toróde being in general of tall stature and strong frame, large features, and of very black complexion, while the other sections of that tribe are always distinguished by a tinge of red or copper colour.

But besides the Toróde, who, as I have said, in most cases as well in Fúta as in Sókoto, at present form the ruling aristocracy, there are many other nationalities which have been absorbed in this great conquering nation, and which, on the contrary, are rather degraded. The most interesting among these latter, at least in the more eastern tracts occupied by the Fúlbe, are certainly the Jawámbe, as they are called by the Fúlbe, but rather, as they call themselves, Zoghorán, or as they are named by the Háusa people, Zoromáwa. This tribe, which we find at present quite absorbed by the Féllani, and, at least in the provinces of Háusa and Kébbi, reduced to the occupation of mere brokers, we still find, during the

* He says of the Jolof that their character is distinguished greatly from that of *the other* Fullán or Fúlbe:—

و طبايعهم تباين طبايع ساير الفلانيون

See Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Soc. ix. p. 536.

period of the A'skia, that is to say, in the sixteenth century of our era, quite distinct from the community of the Fúlbe or Féllani, as a tribe by themselves, settled to the S.E. of the Great River, where it enters the province of Másina *; and it was this tribe which, having been continually persecuted by the Songhay during the height of their sway, at a later period, when that empire had been laid prostrate by the musketeers of Morocco, contributed the most to its ruin, and conquered great part of it, particularly the most fertile provinces, such as Bára and Kármina.

Nearly the same character distinguishes the tribe of the Laúbe on the Senegal, who, in general, at the present time have been reduced to the rank of carpenters, but, nevertheless, at a former period evidently constituted a distinct tribe.† It is these degraded tribes — viz. besides those above mentioned, the Mábube or Mábe, considered in general as weavers; the Gergasábe, or shoemakers; the Waílube, or tailors; the Wambaibe, or singing men; the Waúlube, or beggars, — who impart to the community

* A'hmed Bábá in J. L. O. S. pp. 550, 555, and elsewhere.

† M. Eichwaldt, from the account given of them by various French travellers, makes, as to this tribe, the following interesting statement, regarding them as gipsies: — "En effet, les ethnographes considèrent habituellement les Laobés comme une branche des Foulahs: mais ce fait n'est nullement démontré, et nous avons nous-mêmes connu des voyageurs qui affirmaient que les Laobés possédaient une langue nationale différente du Foulah." (Journal de la Société Ethnologique, 1841, vol. i. p. 62.)

of the Fúlbe the character of a distinction into castes, especially as all of them, in the imaginary pedigree of the Púllo stock, have been carried back to one common progenitor called Só; but we find the same degraded families among the Jolof.*

The absorbing of these western tribes, especially the Jolof and Wákoré by the Fulfúlde nation, furnishes at the same time an unquestionable and unmistakable proof that the march of conquest of the latter proceeded from west to east, and not in an opposite direction, as has been the generally-adopted view of those who have touched upon the subject. No doubt

* The Fúlbe in general divide all the tribes belonging to their stock into four groups or families; but they by no means agree as to the particulars of the division. I will here give one which is commonly assumed: —

1. The Jel, comprising the following sections: — the Torobe; Ulérbe; Fíttobe; Jébtobe; Súdube; U'rube; Tarábe; Jéllube; Báábe; Símbirankóbe, also called Ndójiga, from their dwelling-place; Feroibe; Núkkobe; Síllube; Sosóbe; Tóngabe; Waijóbe. Of these the U'rube are again subdivided into five sections, — the U. Búbe, U. Feroibe (distinct from the Feroibe before mentioned), U. Dúde, U. Síkam, U. Waijóbe. The Jéllube, again, are subdivided into three sections, — the J. Yorónga, J. Haire, and J. Másina.

2. The Bâá, comprising the sections of the Gnara or Ghara, the Síndega, and the Danéji.

3. The Só, comprising the Jawámbe, the Mábube or Mábe, Gergasábe, Waílube, Laúbe, Wambaibe, and Waúlube.

4. The Berí, comprising the Siwálbe, Jaléji, Kombangkóbe, and Kíngirankóbe.

But besides these there are a great many other divisions of this wide-spread tribe, called from localities some of which I shall mention as opportunity occurs. See especially Appendix II.

it is impossible for us with our faint knowledge of the migration of tribes in general, and of African tribes in particular, to explain how this tribe came to settle in the region along the lower course of the Senegal, as their type is distinguished in so very remarkable a manner from the character of the other tribes settled in that neighbourhood, and evidently bears more resemblance to some nations whose dwelling-places are in the far east, such as the Malays, with whom M. Eichwaldt, in his ingenious but hypothetical essay on the Fúla* has endeavoured to connect them by way of Meroë. I myself am of opinion that their origin is to be sought for in the direction of the east; but this refers to an age which for us is enveloped in impenetrable darkness, while what I have said about the progress of their conquest from west to east relates to historical times, comprising the period from the fourteenth century downwards.†

* Eichwaldt in Journal de la Société Ethnologique, 1841, vol. i. p. 2, *et seq.* Among all the arguments brought forward by this gentleman in order to show a relation of the Fúlbe with the Malays, there is none of any consequence; and all his specimens of words brought forward with this object are either taken from bad sources or prove nothing, the only striking similarities in the language of these two nations being the words for fish and spear. I speak here of a special and direct relationship of the Fúlbe with the Malays, without taking into consideration the vestiges of the general relationship of the whole human race, which have lately been pursued and demonstrated with such industry by Mr. Logan.

† There may be some remote affinity between the Fúlbe and the South African tribes, but this refers to an age probably not later than the rule of the Pharaohs; and the idea that the Fúlbe pro-

In this respect the mission of two religious chiefs of this tribe from Melle (where they resided at the time) to Bíri the king of Bórnu, who ruled about the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century *, is of the highest interest, as it shows at once that this tribe, even at that early period, was distinguished by its religious learning, and gives a proof of the progress of the tribe from west to east. Some other facts which have come to our knowledge with regard to the progress of this tribe eastward will be mentioned in the chronological tables; here I will only call the reader's attention to the circumstance, that we find, among the most intimate friends and most stanch supporters of Mohammed el Háj A'skia, a man of the name of 'Alí Fulánu, while in general it was the policy of the Songhay dynasty, which was begun by that great ruler of Negroland, to keep in check this tribe, the conquering tendency of which could not but become apparent to intelligent rulers, notwithstanding the humble character of "berrorój i," under which they used to immigrate and settle in foreign countries; and this is the acknowledged reason why the Gabéro, a tribe whom we shall meet in the course of our proceedings on the river below Gágho, have entirely forgotten their Fulfúlde idiom, not having been al-

ceeded from South Africa is certainly entirely erroneous. The identity of a few numerals in the Fulfúlde and Kaffir languages is curious, but may be explained on historical grounds.

* Vol. II. p. 638, under Bíri (Ibrahím).

lowed, for a certain period, to use it. Whether it be true, as the Féllani-n-Háusa assert, that Kanta, the founder of the homonymous dynasty of Kébbi in the very beginning of the sixteenth century was originally a slave of a party of Fúlbe settled in the country, a fact which, if confirmed, would prove the early settlement of the tribe in this country, I am unable to decide, although it is certainly true that in the course of the sixteenth century the Fúlbe became strong enough, in the regions on the east side of the I'sa or Kwára, to exercise a great influence in the struggles which ensued between the successors of the first Kanta, while it was a chief of their tribe, the ruler of Danka, or Denga, who, according to A'hmed Bábá *, first began his predatory incursions into the Songhay territory, laying waste the fertile and once extremely populous region along the Rás el má. It is thus explained how, even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Fúlbe tribes were settled in several places of Bagírmi.†

But just on account of the vastness of the region over which they were scattered, were these people, while pursuing only their own local interest, powerless even in these loosely-connected and almost crumbling kingdoms, where they had found a new home, with the exception of Bághena, where they appear to have formed a nucleus of greater strength, but destitute of any religious impulse.

* A'hmed Bábá, J. L. O. S. vol. vi. p. 550.

† See Vol. III. p. 433.

A new epoch for this wide-spread tribe did not open till the beginning of this century, when, in the year 1802, Báwa the ruler of Góber summoned to his presence the sheikh 'Othmán, together with the other chiefs of the tribe, and severely reprimanded them on account of the pretensions which they were beginning to put forward. It was then that 'Othmán, who, being settled in the village Dághel, performed the office of imám to his countrymen, and had begun to give them a new religious impulse, which raised them above their petty interests, filled with indignation at the manner in which he, the great Moslim, was treated by those pagans, was roused to the attempt of making himself and his tribe independent of the will of the native ruler of the country, and having assembled his countrymen, who now conferred upon him the dignity and authority of a sheikh, raised the standard of revolt; but his proceedings, at least as far as regarded Góber and the capital Alkaláwa, were far from proving successful at the beginning, he being vanquished in almost every encounter: but the fanatical zeal of his followers, whom he continually inspired with fresh energy by his religious songs *, was so great that gradually he overcame all these obstacles, and at length succeeded in laying the foundation of a vast empire, being greatly assisted in his career by his brother 'Abd Alláhi, who, although his senior, had been the first

* I shall communicate his principal song, in Appendix III.

to pay him homage, and by his son Mohammed Bello. He took up his residence first at Gando, where he was besieged for a long time, and afterwards at Sifáwa, till, as described by Captain Clapperton in the excellent and concise account of this struggle * which he has given in the report of his second journey, Othmán ended his life in a sort of fanatical ecstasy or madness.

He was followed by Mohammed Bello, who endeavoured to introduce more order into the empire thus consolidated, and who, on the whole, must rank high among the African princes, being distinguished not less by his great love of learning and science than by his warlike spirit, although his military achievements were far from being always successful. But he has had the misfortune, after enjoying a great name in Europe, for a short time, for the kind and generous spirit in which he received Captain Clapperton on his first journey, to incur the seseverest condemnation on account of the manner in which he treated that same enterprising traveller on his second journey. No doubt he was a distinguished ruler; but he must not be judged according to European ideas. He had to struggle hard, not less against the native tribes anxious to assert their independence, than against his great rival Mohammed el Kánemí the king of Bórnu, who, just at the time of Clapperton's second stay, pressed him very closely,

* Clapperton's Second Journey, p. 203, *et seq.*

and having successfully overrun the eastern provinces of the Fulfúlde or Felláta empire, threatened Kanó. Hence this political position, together with the instigations of the Arabs, who feared for their commerce with Negroland if the road from the south should be opened, will account in some measure for his treatment of the English traveller, who perhaps urged his going to the sheikh of Bórnu with too much energy. However, there is no doubt that Bello's successor and brother, 'Atíku, who ruled from the year 1832 till 1837, would have weakened the interest of the European public in the example which Bello gave of an energetic and generous ruler in those distant and out-of-the-way regions, if his career had become known to them; for he seems to have fully belied the expectation, of "a mean prince,"* which he raised when still living in his retirement, as a jealous king's brother, without power and influence. But his reign was too short for consolidating sufficiently the loosely-connected empire, although, as long as he lived, full security is said to have reigned. The spirit of independence broke out more strongly under his successor 'Alíyu, a son of Bello by a female slave, who, save a well-meaning and cheerful disposition, does not appear to have inherited many of the noble qualities of his father, and least of all his warlike spirit; and hence the lamentable condition in which I found this extensive kingdom, while there is scarcely any hope that affairs

* This is the term which Clapperton uses with regard to him.

will assume a more consolidated character before another more energetic ruler succeeds to ʿAlíyu. Nevertheless the kingdom or empire, even at the present time, still comprises the same provinces which it did at its most flourishing period, with the exception of Khadéja, the governor of which has made himself independent; but the military strength of these provinces, especially as regards cavalry, as well as the amount of revenue, is greatly impaired, although the latter, collected from all the provinces* together, certainly exceeds one hundred millions of shells, or about 10,000*l.* sterling, besides an equal value in slaves and native cloth, or articles of foreign produce. The whole strength of the empire, if the distracted state of each province allowed its quota to be withdrawn from thence, would certainly still form an imposing force,—viz., the cavalry of the seat of government, together with the subjected parts of Kébbi and Zánfara, about 5000; the cavalry of Kanó, from 5000 to 7000; that of Baúchi, from 1500 to 2000; that of Zégzeg, 3000; A′damáwa, 2000; Kátsena and Mésaw, each about 1000; Katágum, 1200; Marmar and Shéra, each 500; Bobéru, 600; Dáura,

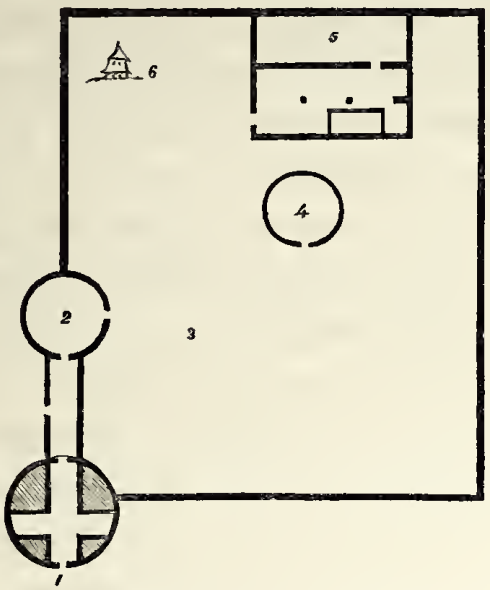
* There are inspectors of the provinces residing in Sókoto, who are responsible for the tribute being duly delivered. ʿAbdú, the son of Gedádo, has all the following provinces under his inspection: Kanó, Zégzeg, A′damáwa, Hamárruwa, Sámbo Degímsa, Katágum, Sámbo-Lé, governed by Yeríma A′hmedu. The ghaladíma A′hmedu has only Kátsena under his inspection; the mágaji inspects Zánfara; Modéggel, Baúchi; Yéron Sambo, Kazáurc, the province of Démbo; Dennil Jódi, Dáura.

400; Kazáure, about 200. But we have seen to what a state Zánfara is at present reduced, while the curious manner in which Kébbi is portioned out between the rulers of Sókoto and Gando* cannot fail to cause a great deal of jealousy and controversy between the two courts, at the very centre of power; and as for A'damáwa, there are still so many hostile elements in the interior of that half-subdued province, that it is impossible to withdraw from thence a particle of its home force; nay, even the province of Kanó is so harassed and distracted by the continual inroads of the governor of Khadéja, that the ruler of that province is scarcely able to send a few hundred horsemen to join the army of his liege lord. We have seen how that same rebel governor of Khadéja repeatedly defeated a numerous host taken from almost all the provinces of the empire, which had been sent against him; and we shall see what were the inglorious manœuvrings of 'Alíyu himself, when he led out, in person, his army against the enemy during my stay in Wurno, of which I shall now proceed to give a short diary.

Monday, April 4th. Having entered my quarters in the dark, I had no idea of their character; and it was not till the following day that I became aware of it. They consisted, as shown in the accompanying wood-cut, of a spacious courtyard containing nothing but a clay building, which comprised two apart-

* See Appendix IV.

ments, besides a small granary, built of clay, but which was covered all round with straw at the



1. Entrance hut or parlour, furnished with two seats of clay and two couches of the same material.
2. Second hut, without couches.
3. Open courtyard, overgrown with grass.
4. Hut for my chief servant.
5. Clay hall, with a store-room at the back.
6. Small granary.

setting-in of the rainy season, in order to protect it from violent rains. The clay hall had been built by A'bú, the elder brother and the predecessor of the present ghaladíma, who greatly surpassed the latter in warlike energy, and who fell in Zánfara during that unfortunate expedition against the Góberáwa, the preparations for which Mr. Overweg witnessed during his stay in Marádi, in the beginning of the summer of 1851. The principal apartment of this clay hall, supported by two massive columns, with

an average temperature of 94°, was an excellent abode during the hottest part of the day, when it felt very cool and pleasant; but it was rather oppressive in the morning and evening, when the air outside was so much cooler. But in the courtyard there was not the slightest shade, all the trees in this quarter of the town, as well as the huts consisting of reed, having been swept away by a great conflagration the preceding year, a young kórna tree, which had been planted at a later period, only just beginning to put forth its foliage. The whole courtyard, also, was in a most filthy state, characteristic of the manners of the natives in their present degraded moral and political situation. The first thing, therefore, that I had to do, in order to make myself tolerably comfortable, was to cleanse out this Augean stable, to build a hut for my servants, and a shady retreat for myself. I was well aware that the latter, which it was not easy to make water-tight, would become useless with the first considerable fall of rain; but I entertained the hope that, before that time, I should be able to set out on my journey.

It was market-day, there being a market held here every Monday and Friday, although the great market of Sókoto, which is much more important, even in the present reduced condition of that place, still serves to supply the wants of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns and villages at large. Sending, therefore, into the market in order to supply my most urgent wants, I found that corn, as well as

meat, was even dearer here than in Kátsena,—100 shells scarcely sufficing for the daily maintenance of one horse, and 800 shells buying no more corn than 500 would have done in Kátsena, while an ox for slaughtering cost 7000 shells, and I bought two milking-goats, in order to enjoy the luxury of a little milk for my tea, for 2700 shells. The only article which was at all cheap was onions. The market is held on a natural platform spreading out in front of the north-western gate, and surrounded and fortified by a ditch, as, in the present weak state of the Fúlbe, the market people are liable to be suddenly attacked by the enemy. This place, as well as the whole of the town, I visited the following day, in company with my friend Alháttu, who, in acknowledgment of the present I had given him in Gáwasú, and in expectation of more, took me under his special protection; but in crossing the town, in a westerly direction from our quarters, I was surprised at its neglected and dirty appearance,—a small ravine which intersects the town forming a most disgusting spectacle, even worse than the most filthy places of any of the deserted capitals of Italy. Emerging then by the western gate (the kófa-n-sábuwa), through which leads the road to Sókoto, and which was just being repaired by the people of the ghaladíma, in order to make it capable of withstanding the effects of the rainy season, we turned northwards round the town. In front of each gate, on the slope of the rocky eminence on which the town is built, there is a group

of wells, each with a little round clay house, where the proprietor of the well has his usual residence, levying on each jar of water a small contribution of five shells; but there are also a great number of wells facing the north-western gate, close to the market.

Leaving a small farm, belonging to my friend 'Abd el Káder the sultan of A'gades, on our left, we then turned round to the north, into the road which leads to Saláme, and crossed once more the "gulbi-n-ríma," which takes its course towards Sókoto, exhibiting a very uneven bottom, and forming several pools of stagnant water. Here a broad plain spread out, at present almost bare of vegetation, where my poor camels searched in vain for pasture, putting me to a daily expense of 800 shells in order to recruit their strength by means of "haráwa," or bean-straw, which furnishes the most nourishing food for the camel in these regions, though in general it is regarded as unwholesome for the horse. Having thus fed my camels for some time, I sent them to a greater distance, in the direction of Sókoto, between Dankému and Gída-n-mánomí, where better fodder was to be procured.

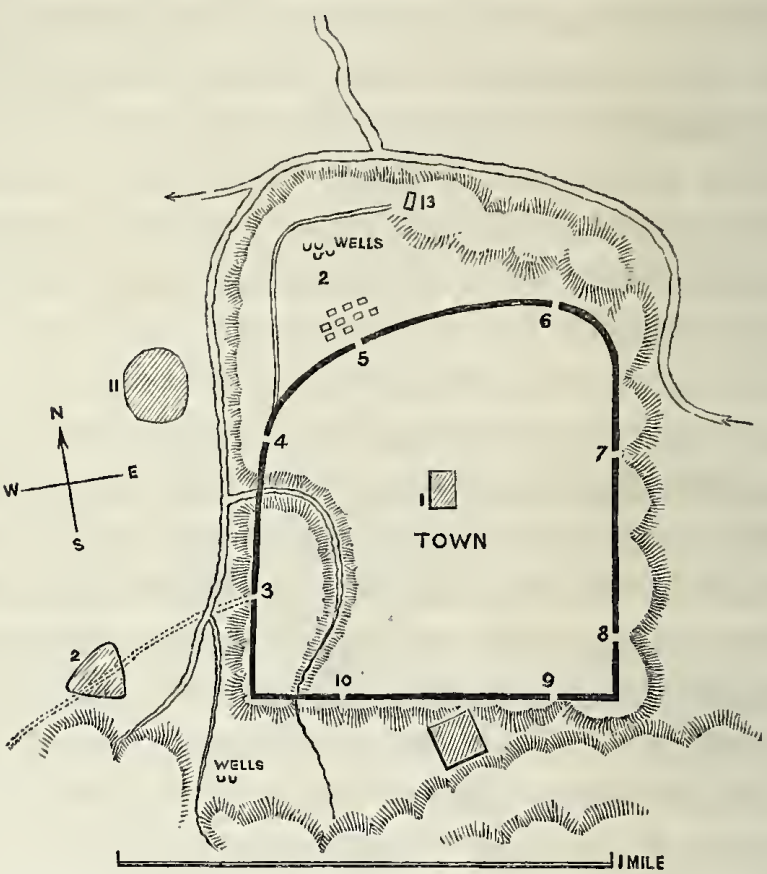
After the luxuriant vegetation of other parts of Negroland, I was astonished at the naked appearance of the country around the capital, only a few kúka or monkey-bread trees being seen; but the country presented a very different aspect on my return journey the next year, at the end of the rainy season. Góber is distinguished for its general dry-

ness, and for this very reason is esteemed exceedingly well adapted for cattle-breeding. The frontiers of the three different provinces or territories (viz. Kebbi, Góber, and A'dar) join in this corner; and this is the reason that, while Sókoto is regarded as lying within the borders of the province of Kebbi, Wurno is considered as belonging to the conquered territory of the province of Góber; while just beyond the gulbi-n-ríma, in a northerly direction, the province of A'dar or Tadlar commences.

But, to return to my first promenade round Wurno, having surveyed the broad dry valley of the gulbi, we turned round the precipitous cliffs over which winding paths lead up to the town, and, having skirted for a while a small branch or korámma which further on turns away, we kept along the eastern side of the town, and re-entered the place from the south-eastern corner, through the gate by which we had made our first entrance. On the following page the reader will find a woodcut which will serve to show its situation much better than any description could do.

Meanwhile the town became more and more deserted; and on the 7th of April, Alháttu and 'Omár, or Ghomáro, the two brothers of the ghaladíma, with numbers of other people, went to join the expedition: but these fighting men, with a few exceptions, care only about their bodily comfort, and for a few "goríye" or Kóla nuts would be willing to sell the whole of their military accoutrements. It was a great matter with these warriors, that, while the old

goríye were nearly finished, the new ones, which were just then brought into the market, were sold for the



1. Residence of Alíyu.
2. Market-place.
3. Kófa-n-Sábuwa.
4. K. Serkí-n-A'gades.
5. K. Kásuwa.
6. K. Máleki.
7. K. Kúrremi.
8. K. Ráha.
9. K. Ríma.
10. K. Ghaladámchi.
11. Gída-n-Serkí-n-A'gades.
12. Suburb.

high price of 120 shells each. In scarcely any place of Negroland did I observe so little true military spirit as in Wurno; and almost all the leading men seem to be imbued with the melancholy conviction that their rule in these quarters is drawing to an end.

It was again market-day, and I made sundry purchases, including a small ox, for almsgiving, as I had made it a rule, in every large town where I stayed any considerable time, to distribute alms amongst the poor. I was astonished at the great quantity of cotton which was brought into the market, and which showed what these fine vales are capable of producing, if the inhabitants, instead of being plunged in apathy and exposed to the daily incursions of a relentless enemy, were protected by a strong government. This very day we received the news that the rebellious Kábáwa, or natives of Kebbi *, had made a foray against Señína, a town situated on the most frequented road between Sókoto and Gando, the two capitals and central seats of the power of the Fúlbe in these quarters. The neighbouring Féllani had come to the rescue of the town, and had prevented the enemy from taking it; but six horses had been carried away. Only a few days later, the news arrived of another attack having been made by the rebels upon the town of Gándi, the residence of Dyang-rúwa, one day's distance to the south from Bírni-n-Kebbi, although this time they were less fortunate, and were said to have

Friday, April 8th.

* The national name Kábáwa is taken from the ancient form of the name, Kábi, which was formerly in use (exactly like the form Máli, Maláwa), but has given place to the form Kebbi, which is thus distinctly written, even in Arabic, by authors of the seventeenth century.

been driven back with the loss of twenty-two horses. Meanwhile the sultan himself, with his sluggish host of cavalry, instead of attacking the Góberáwa, who already, before we left Kátsena, had taken the field with a numerous army, was said to be stationed in Katúru. He had been joined by the governor of Záriya in person, while Kanó had sent only the ghaladíma with the whole of their cavalry.

From Katúru, ʿAlíyu with his army, after some useless delay, betook himself to Káuri-n-Namóda, whence we received news on the 11th, the Góberáwa having meanwhile taken up a strong position in front of him, without being able to induce him to offer them battle. The dread of these effeminate conquerors for the warlike chief of the Góberáwa, the son of Yakúba, is almost incredible. He has ruled since 1836, and, the preceding year, had roused the whole of the indigenous population of the various provinces to a struggle for their national and religious independence against the ruling tribe. This dread of him has been carried so far, that they have quite obliterated his real name, calling him only Mayáki, or "the warrior." While ʿAlíyu was stationed at Káuri-n-Namóda, and part of his army was in Dankárba, the A′zena made an attack upon Ráya, a town situated at a day's distance from the former place. But the whole condition of the country, to the west as well as to the east, was most deplorable; and three native merchants, of the Zoromáwa or Zoghorán, when speaking about my projected journey towards

the Niger, and beyond that river westward, told me in the most positive manner, "bábo haña," "there is no road;" that is to say, "the country is closed to you, and you cannot proceed in that direction." And taking into consideration the low ebb of courage and enterprise among the natives—the weakness and unwarlike spirit of 'Alíyu—the complete nullity of Khalílu—the vigour of the young and warlike Mádemé the rebel chief of Kebbi, who, starting from his residence Argúngo, distant only a couple of hours' march from that of Khalílu, was carrying the flame of destruction in every direction—the revolted province of Zabérma, with an equally young and energetic ruler, Dáúd the son of Hammam Jýmma—the province of Déndina in open revolt and cutting off all access to the river,—all these circumstances rendered the prospect of my accomplishing this journey very doubtful. Moreover, besides the weakness of the two rulers of the Fúlbe dominions, there is evidently a feeling of jealousy between the courts of Sókoto and Gando; and here we find the spectacle of two weak powers weakening each other still more, instead of uniting most cordially in an energetic opposition against the common foe. For instance, the young chief of Kebbi, who at present caused them so much trouble, had been previously a prisoner in Wurno; but when Khalílu wanted to take his life, 'Alíyu procured his liberty, and gave him a splendid charger to boot.

But a European will achieve what the natives of the country themselves deem impossible; and my friends the Zoromáwa merchants, who wanted to induce me to relinquish my project, had perhaps their own private interests in view. They probably entertained the hope that, in case of my being prevented from penetrating westward, I should be obliged to sell my stock here, which I now kept back as a provision for the road before me. By way of consoling them, I gave them a parcel of beads of the kind called dankasáwa, which I found useless for the countries through which I had to pass, in exchange for some shells I was in want of for the daily expenses of my household.

Meanwhile I collected a good deal of information concerning the topography of the neighbouring provinces, and the remarkable manner in which the province of Kebbi has been portioned out between the two empires of Gando and Sókoto. I also compiled an outline of the history of this country, which began greatly to attract my attention. Meanwhile, in order to preserve my health, I took a ride almost every day, out of the town, and was in particular much interested in an excursion which I made in the afternoon of the 16th, in a northerly direction, on the road to Saláme, which is at the same time the great highroad to A'dar and A'gades. A cheerful aspect was especially exhibited by the village of Fáchi, stretching out to a considerable length from east to west, and skirted by a small watercourse,

which inundates and fertilizes the neighbouring grounds during the rainy season, so that the people are able to raise, besides two species of yams, namely gwáza and rógo, a good deal of tobacco and cotton. Beyond, a wide open plain spreads out, covered with the plant "kakma," which looks very much like aghúl (*Hedysarum Alhaggi*). But the whole of this ground so near the capital is now very unsafe under the weak rule of ʿAlíyu, and exposed to continual inroads of the energetic Góberáwa; and a few days later the village of Saláme itself was ransacked by the enemy, and a good many slaves carried off. The more desperate the condition of the country was, the more remarkable appeared to me the outward show of dominion which was maintained; in proof of this I may state that the very day we received the news of a new outbreak of the general mutiny of the native tribes, the tribute from the provinces of Kanó and Záriya entered the town.

Wednesday, April 20th.

A highly interesting and delightful interruption to my protracted and involuntary stay in Wurno was caused by an excursion which I made to Sókoto. The first part of this road I had already become acquainted with on a former ride, which had extended as far as Dankému; but at that period, being more intent upon inhaling the fresh air than upon laying down the country, I had not paid much attention to the extensive cultivation of rice which is going on in this valley, while on this occasion the features of the country, and in particular this branch of cul-

tivation, formed a special object of attraction to me. For it was the first time during my travels in Negro-land that I had seen rice cultivated on a large scale; and as we were winding along the foot of the rocky hills to the south-east, crossing the various small channels which descend from them and afterwards join the greater rivulet which we saw at some distance on our right, the country became dotted with small villages, or "rugga," as they are called by the Fúlbe, some of them of historical renown, such as Dághel or Dággel, the village where 'Othmán the Reformer had his usual residence before he rose to that great political importance which he attained in after times. But such is the degraded state of these conquerors at the present time, that even this village, which, if they had the slightest ambition or feeling of national honour, ought to be a memorable and venerable place to them for all ages, has been ransacked by the Góberáwa, and lies almost deserted.

It is at Dághel that the valley attains its greatest breadth; but as we advanced, in a south-westerly direction, it was narrower, till, at the village called Gída-n-mánomí, it became greatly contracted, shortly after which, the river turning away to a greater distance, the path ascended the rocks. It is the same path along which Clapperton, on his second journey, went so repeatedly from Sókoto to Magáriya, but which, from the scanty information obtained from his papers in this respect, has been laid down so very erroneously. In general, I cannot praise too

highly the zeal and accuracy (allowance being made for his positions of longitude) with which this eminent and successful traveller, who crossed the whole breadth of the African continent between the Mediterranean and the Bight of Benín, has laid down his various journeys. On the other hand, the companion of his former travels, Major Denham, has shown great inaccuracy, both with respect to distances as well as to the direction of his various routes.

The ground was enlivened by the cultivation of "rógo," which, when attaining a certain growth, contributes greatly to the beauty of the scenery; but kúka or baobab trees were almost the only larger vegetable production which adorned the country during the first part of our ride, sometimes shooting out from between the very blocks of sandstone with which the hills were strewn. Further on, another tree, called "kádasí," and a few small tamarind trees also appeared, and the tops of the ant-hills, which at times form regular rows, were often adorned with the fine fresh-leaved bush "sérkekí." The ground, which consists of black argillaceous soil, "láka" or "fírki," as it is called in Bórnu, not yet fertilized by the rainy season, was cracked and torn asunder, while the white "káli bálbalé" (*Buphaga africana*), which enliven every district of Negroland where cattle are common, were stalking about in the fields, looking out for food. But cattle at the present time were sought for in vain. Here they would have found no pasture,

and in consequence were driven to a great distance, as is the general custom with the Fúlbe or Féllani of these quarters, even those settled in the province of Kátsena having at times their herds of cattle pasturing in the far-distant grassy and healthy grounds of Zabérma.

While the cultivation of rice prevails in the north-easternmost part of the valley, more cotton and sorghum were observed towards the village of Gída-n-mánomí, although the state of the fields did not argue a great deal of industry on the part of the inhabitants, being rather obstructed by weeds and thorny bushes. But far more native corn is grown on the other side of Wurno, so that it even forms a mercantile speculation, on a small scale, to carry corn from Wurno to Sókoto; nay, even sheep are transported in this way for a very small profit, being bought in Wurno for 1200 or, when on credit, for 1400 shells, and sold in Sókoto for 1500.

Having ascended the rising ground close beyond a source of limpid water producing a narrow spot of fresh verdure, the rocky surface was soon succeeded by a fertile plain of sand covering the rock to the depth of a foot, while the fields of the various farmers were separated from each other by slabs of sandstone. The labours of the fields, however, had not yet begun; and trees also here were scanty, a small mimosa indicating the halfway or "marárraba" between the two towns, while another village was distinguished by a single deléb palm.

Having reached the highest point of the path, from whence we obtained the first sight of Sókoto, we descended into a deeper hollow or irregular valley, adorned by fine green fields of "rógo," and bordered by living hedges of the *Nux purgans*, the nut being still green, but having just attained its full size.

This was the valley of Bamúrna, which is distinguished on account of its fertility and abundance of water, but for this same reason is rather unhealthy, and, during and shortly after the rainy season, becomes quite impassable for travellers. Close to the source, which rushes forth from the western cliffs, a small market is held, where travellers generally make a short halt; but this spot being very narrow and affording but little comfort for a midday halt, we went on a little further, and halted for an hour or two at the end of the vale, under two fine dúrremi trees a little to the right of the path. Here, where the principal vale is joined by a side branch, and where the greatest amount of moisture is collected, the vegetation is especially rich, and a beautiful limún tree full of fruit adorned the place, besides young offshoots of the plantain. But more interesting still was a small plantation of sugar situated at the foot of the hill, although the stalks were at present only about sixteen or eighteen inches high; and I was not a little surprised when I learned that this piece of ground belonged to a man who not only cultivated, but even prepared sugar: but I did not then make his acquaintance, as he was absent at the time. Meanwhile

enjoying our cool shade, we partook of a very moderate but wholesome African luncheon, consisting of a few onions boiled in water, seasoned with some tamarind fruit and a little butter, which forms a very refreshing treat during the hot hours of a tropical climate; for the onions hereabout are of excellent quality and extremely cheap, fifteen being sold for ten kurdí.

Soon after starting in the afternoon, we fell in with a long marriage procession, consisting of a bride and her mother, both mounted on horseback, accompanied by a considerable number of female servants and attendants, carrying the simple household furniture on their heads. At the same time that this interesting procession caused a cheerful intermezzo, a greater variety of vegetation was perceptible at a village on our right. Besides kórna, there were a few dúm and deléb palms; and the fields were adorned with a great number of tamarind trees, but of small growth.

Proceeding thus over the rocky ground, we reached the small rivulet of Sókoto, the "gulbi-n-Rába" or "Búgga," or, as it is called in its upper course, where I fell in with it on my return journey, gulbi-n-Bakúra. Even at the present season it had a small current of water, but only about ten yards wide and ten inches deep, and just sufficient for us to water our horses. The water is regarded as unwholesome for man; and at this season of the year shallow wells or holes are dug in the gravel at some distance from the

stream, in order to supply the poor people. The wealthier classes are believed to be supplied from other quarters, although such a presumption is very often false, the water from this stream being merely sold to them under a more pompous title.

Ascending then the slope of the eminence on which the town is built, and which rises to about one hundred feet, and leaving a spacious "máriná" or dyeing-place on the slope of the hill on our left, we entered the walls of Sókoto by the kófa-n-rími; and although the interior did not at present exhibit that crowded appearance which made such a pleasing impression upon Clapperton, the part nearest the wall being rather thinly inhabited, and the people being evidently reduced to a state of great poverty and misery, it made a cheerful impression on me, on account of the number of dúm palms and kórna trees by which it is adorned.

Orders having been sent beforehand, I was quartered without delay in the house of the ghaladíma—a clay dwelling in tolerable repair, but full of white ants, so that I was glad to find there a "gadó" or couch of reeds, where I was able to rest myself and put away my small effects, without being continually exposed to the insidious attacks of these voracious insects. Having thus made myself comfortable, my first visit the following morning was to Módibo 'Alí, who had already testified his friendship for me by sending me a fat sheep to Wurno. Differing entirely from the present generation of beggars, whose ignoble

habits make a long stay in Wurno or Sókoto intolerable, he is a cheerful old man of noble demeanour, and with pure Fúlbe features, with which his middle height and rather spare growth exactly corresponded. He was simply but neatly dressed in a white shirt and a shawl of the same colour. Módibo ʿAlí is the oldest member of the family of the Reformer still alive, being the son of ʿAlí an elder brother of ʿOthmán the Jehádi, and about seventy-five years of age. He was seated in the antechamber of his house, before the door of which his little herd of milch cows were assembled; and he received me with unaffected kindness. I immediately saluted him as an old friend and acquaintance, and we had a very pleasant and cheerful conversation, after which I delivered to him my present, consisting of a heláli bernús, a piece of white muslin, a high red cap or "mátri," a small flask of "òttár" of roses, two razors, a pound of cloves, a loaf of sugar, and a looking-glass; and he was particularly delighted with some of these articles, which, on account of the insecurity of the road at the present time, are imported more rarely even from Kanó. In former times a great many Arabs used to visit this place, partly for purposes of trade, partly in order to obtain a present from the sultan; but the danger of the communication in the present reduced state of the empire is so great, that not a single Arab merchant visits the town. This circumstance cannot fail to render the conquering tribe more favourably disposed towards opening an intercourse with the

English, or Europeans in general, by way of the Niger. At present almost the whole traffic in foreign merchandise is in the hands of the people of Ghát and A'gades, especially in those of Mohammed Bóro, my friend the fugger of A'gades, who, being a native of A'dar, and having a numerous host of full-grown sons, exercises a great influence upon commercial and even political affairs in these quarters.

Having thus commenced an acquaintance with the most respectable man in the town, I made a longer promenade through its interior, when I found the chief quarter, which had been the residence of Bello, greatly dilapidated, and the royal mansion itself in a state of the utmost decay. No doubt a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the town, especially the males, had joined the expedition of 'Alíyu to Zánfara: but as the greater part of the population consists of Zoromáwa or Zoghorán, or, as they are called further westward, Jawámbe, a peculiar tribe which I have mentioned before and about which I shall say more in another place, mixed here with the Imóshagh of A'dar, who do not join the army, the war could not exercise so great an influence upon the desolate appearance of the place. The Zoromáwa, in fact, are the artisans of the town, and the small tradesmen and brokers, and exercise a sort of monopoly in the art of working in leather, in which they are very expert, having probably learned it from the Emgedesíye.

In endeavouring to survey the town, I first paid a

visit to the market, which is situated at its north-eastern corner, on the brink of the rugged slope which descends into the valley. It was empty at the present time,—only a few slight sheds being made ready for the following day, when the great market was to be held; and the prospect over the broad flat valley to the north and north-west, in the direction of Dúnday, was uninterrupted, presenting at this season a scorched-up savanna, while the deep rill of the river was scarcely to be distinguished. A number of blind women, leaning on their staves or led by young children, were seen carrying pitchers of water up the cliff, affording a sad proof of the unhealthiness of the situation of the town, where blindness is very frequent. Turning then westwards from the market, I reached the house of the late king 'Atíku, where at present his son Hámedu resides, who formerly had his residence at Bakúra, till that place was taken by the Góberáwa. The house is in good repair, and the quarter adjacent is tolerably well inhabited—at least, better than any other part of the town; for Hámedu is the chief of the Sissílbe or Syllebáwa*, who form the principal stock of the population of the neighbouring hamlets or rugga of Sókoto. The different nationality of these

* I shall say more in another place about this interesting tribe, who, originally belonging to the Negro stock of the Wákoré, have been swallowed up in the remarkable migration and conquest of the Fúlbe eastward; here I will only mention the various sections into which they are divided, at least as far as these eastern quarters are concerned. These are the Lobárbe, Lómbe, Seníngbe, Yiróbe, Wárbe, Jakkóbe, Walárbe, Jagálbe, and Jatíbe.

Syllebáwa, causing a diversity of interests and pursuits, is stated to be one of the reasons why 'Alíyu, who has been made sultan chiefly through the influence of the Tórobe, does not like to reside at Sókoto as well as at Wurnó, although his residence at the latter place is greatly needed in the present reduced state of his power, in consequence of the continual danger from the Góberáwa, who, if the sultan should stay in Sókoto, would endanger the safety of all the people living in the open villages and hamlets between the former and the present residence; and it was on this account that Bello built the town of Magáriya (the site of which, a little to the north-east of the latter, I have indicated on a former occasion), which, however, was soon abandoned for Wurnó.

The chief, Hámedu, was at present absent; but I have mentioned already that I sent him a present immediately on my arrival in Gáwasú, on account of his influential position, although I thought it politic afterwards to keep out of his way as much as possible, in order not to excite any jealousy, Hámedu being one of the nearest, if not the very nearest, to the succession, but opposed by the greater part of the present courtiers. Passing, then, along the well-frequented road which leads out of the town, we emerged from the kófa-n-'Atíku, in order to obtain a first glimpse of the country which I was to traverse on my road to Gando.

It was an open level tract, at present without

many signs of vegetation; but that part nearest the town was agreeably enlivened by a thriving suburb extending as far as the kófa-n-Tarámnia, and buried in a thicket of shady trees and hedges, thus presenting altogether a more animated spectacle than the interior of the town itself. Keeping along the machicolated wall, here only about twelve feet high and surrounded by a ditch, and following the path between it and the suburb, we entered the town, and turned our steps to the house of the gedádo, where Captain Clapperton closed his meritorious career as an African explorer.

The house is still in tolerable repair, 'Abdú, the son of the gedádo, who, although not very energetic, and still less warlike, is a man of cheerful disposition and good principles, having too great a veneration for his father, who did so much towards embellishing and adorning this town, to allow his residence to go to ruin. The old gedádo had long outlived his master, Bello; and if I had proceeded to Sókoto directly from A'gades, I should still have found him alive; for he only died during my presence in Kanó, in February 1851. I will here only mention that it was believed for a moment in England that Clapperton died from the effects of poison; but the amount of fatigue, privations, and sickness to which this most eminent of African travellers was exposed on his circuitous journey, by way of Núpe and Kanó, from the coast as far as this place, explains fully how he was unable to withstand the effects of the shock which mental disappointment exercised upon him: nay, it is wonderful how he bore up so long, if his

own hints with regard to the state of his health are taken into account.

In the evening, my old friend Módibo ʿAlí, and the mother of Aʹbú, the elder and more warlike brother of the present ghaladíma, who was slain by the Góberáwa two years before my visit to this place, treated me hospitably, and I sent a present to Sàídu, a younger son of Bello, who resides in Sókoto, and is considered as a sort of mayor.

Friday, April 22nd.

It was the great market-day, which was of some importance to me, as I had to buy a good many things, so that I was obliged to send there a sum of 70,000 shells; but the market did not become well-frequented or well-stocked till between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when I myself proceeded thither. I had taken a ride in the morning through the south-eastern quarter of the town, proceeding through the kófa-n-ʿAtíku, thence along the wall, towards the west, and re-entered the town by the kófa-n-ʿAlí Jédu, where the whole quarter is very desolate, even the wall being in a state of decay, and the fine mosque, built by the gedádo during Clapperton's stay here, fallen entirely to ruins. But, even in the present reduced condition of the place, the market still presented a very interesting sight, the numerous groups of people, buyers as well as sellers, and the animals of various descriptions, being picturesquely scattered over the rocky slope, as I have endeavoured to represent in the plate opposite. The market was tolerably well attended, and well

supplied, there being about thirty horses, three hundred head of cattle for slaughtering, fifty takérkere, or oxen of burden, and a great quantity of leather articles (this being the most celebrated branch of manufacture in Sókoto), especially leather bags, cushions, and similar articles, the leather dressed and prepared here being very soft and beautiful. There were more than a hundred bridles for sale, the workmanship of which is very famous throughout all this part of Negroland; but especially a large quantity of iron was exposed for sale, the iron of Sókoto being of excellent quality and much sought for, while that of Kanó is of bad quality. A good many slaves were exhibited, and fetched a higher price than might be supposed,—a lad of very indifferent appearance being sold for 33,000 shells; I myself bought a pony for 30,000. It being just about the period when the salt-caravan visits these parts, dates also, which usually form a small addition to the principal merchandise of those traders of the desert, were to be had; and I filled a leather bag, for some 2000 shells, in order to give a little more variety to my food on the long road which lay before me.

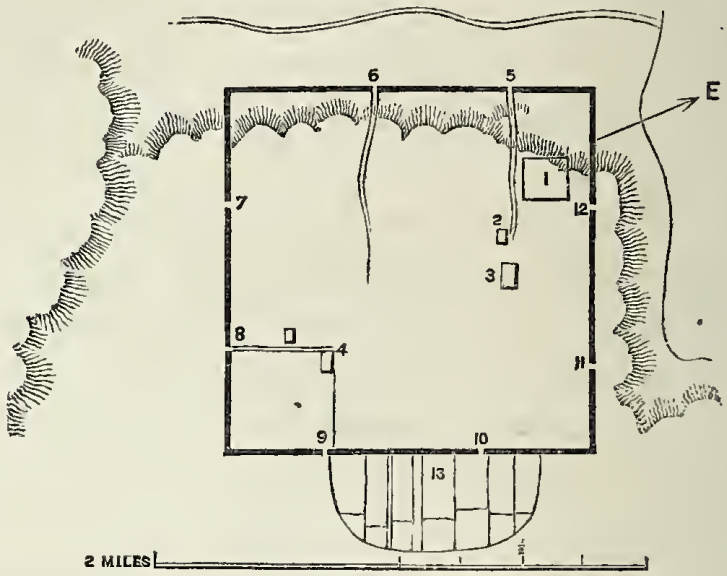
April 23rd. I took another interesting ride through the kófa-n-Dúnday, not following the direct road to that village, which lies close to the junction of the gulbi-n-Ríma with the gulbi-n-Rába, but not far from the decayed northern wall, and thus crossed a considerable channel, a branch of the river, full of water, being even at the present time about fifteen

yards wide, and a foot and a half in depth, and then, keeping away from the village, reached the other branch, which was narrower but more richly bordered by bushes, and, following it up in an easterly direction, reached the point of junction, or "megangámu."

The whole valley here formed one uninterrupted rice-field; and how different was the aspect of the country from what it exhibited on my home journey, at the end of the rainy season of the following year! A number of small boats were lying here, at the side of the narrow channel, but all of them separated into two halves, which had to be sewn together when their services were required for the rainy season. From this point I crossed over to the road leading to the village of Koré, where, two days later, a party of Kél-geres made a foray; and returning along this road towards the town, at a distance of about five hundred yards from the wall, we crossed another small arm of the river, which during the rainy season forms an extensive swamp. Leaving then the kófa-n-Koré on our right, we turned round the north-eastern corner of the wall, and ascended towards the kófa-n-Markė́, which has received this name from a tree of the markė́ kind, although at present none are to be seen here. On the next page is a sketch of a ground-plan of the town.

Altogether my visit to Sókoto formed a most interesting intermezzo to my involuntary stay in the capital, although it could not fail to give me a fur-

ther insight into the frail character of the dominion of the Fúlbe over these regions; and during my stay



SÓKOTO.

1. Market-place.
2. House of Gedádo, at present 'Abdú.
3. House of Bello, now of 'Alíyu, very much in decay.
4. House of 'Atíku, at present Hámedu, and close to it the mosque built by Gedádo, now in ruins.
5. Kófa-n-Koré.
6. Kófa-n-Dúnday.
7. Kófa-n-Kadé.
8. Kófa-n-'Alí Jédu.
9. Kófa-n-'Atíku.
10. Kófa-n-Tarámnia.
11. Kófa-n-Rími.
12. Kófa-n-Marké.
13. Suburb.

here I certainly had no cause to complain of inhospitable treatment, as my friend Módibo 'Alí sent me, every day, a large basin of furá, the favourite drink of ghussub water, two dishes of hasty pudding, and two bowls of milk. Having given, by this excursion to the former capital, fresh energy to my spirits, I returned to my quarters in Wurnó on the 24th, accomplishing the distance in little more than four hours; and it was time that I returned, for in the evening of that same day the joyful news arrived that the sultan had reached Gándi. However,

he did not enter Wurnó till the 23rd, having forwarded a message to me the preceding evening from Yan-serkí, in the territory of Rába, requesting me to meet him the following morning outside the town. In consequence of this I mounted on horseback with the first dawn of day, but found the sultan already close to the gate, descending the rocky path which leads from the above-mentioned place. He then made a halt, with his whole suite, and saluted me in the kindest manner, calling me by my name, ʿAbd el Kerím. The sultan was followed by the ghaladíma; and I here first made the acquaintance of the learned ʿAbd el Káder dan Taffa (Mustapha), whom I was most anxious to see, in order to obtain from him some historical information. As soon as the people had dispersed quietly, returning to their various quarters, I sent him a present, when he paid me a visit in the evening, and furnished me immediately with some positive data with regard to the history of the dynasty of the Asáki, or A′skia, the rulers of Songhay, which he had perfectly in his head, and which were of the greatest importance in giving me an insight into the historical relation of the western countries of these regions with that of Central Negroland.

April 29th. In the forenoon I went to ʿAlíyu, in order to pay my compliments to him upon his safe return from this expedition, which, although not very glorious, had yet proved not quite unprofitable, he having reduced to subjection the poor little hamlets of the rocky district of Kotórkoshé, the inhabitants

of which had previously placed themselves under the protection of the enemy; but even this insignificant victory he had only achieved through the bravery of the horsemen from Kátsena, while his own men had, as usual, exhibited the greatest cowardice. As long as the Fúlbe do not defeat the host of the Góberáwa, who take the field every year and offer them battle, the state of this empire will become daily worse and worse, while at present each of the two parties, the indigenous inhabitants as well as the conquerors, do nothing but accelerate the ruin of the country, without dealing a decided blow.

Although I had made the chief a very respectable present on my first arrival, I thought it well to give greater impulse to his friendly disposition towards me, by adding something also this time, presenting him with a cloth waistcoat and several smaller articles, besides a musical box, with the performance of which he was extremely pleased; but unfortunately, when, anxious to impart his delight to his greatest friend and principal minister, ʿAbdú the son of Gedádo, he had called the latter to witness this wonder, the mysterious box, affected by the change of climate and the jolting of the long journey, was silent for a moment, and would not play. I may observe here, that I think it better for travellers not to make such presents as musical boxes, which so easily get out of order. The sultan fully granted my request for a speedy departure, promising also to assist me in my dangerous undertaking with a small "rékkia" or

escort; and it was very essential to me to hasten my proceedings, as the following day brought the first evident proof of the approach of the rainy season.

Having made a present to the ghaladíma also, I thought it better, in order to make up for the deficiency of the musical box, to satisfy the musical taste of the sultan by making him a present of one of the harmonica which the Chevalier Bunsen, in consideration of the great effect which the Rev. Mr. Knoblecher had produced, with the aid of such an instrument, upon the inhabitants of the shores of the Nile, had procured for me; but I succeeded afterwards in repairing, in some measure, the musical box, which caused the good-natured chief inexpressible delight, so that he lost no time in writing for me a commendatory letter to his nephew Khalílu the chief of Gando. But I was extremely anxious to get away from this place, as I was sorely pestered by begging parties, the inhabitants of Wurnó and Sókoto being the most troublesome beggars in the world, and besides them there being also many strangers in the town, especially the Kélgeres, who had brought the salt.

I was sitting, one day, in the entrance-hall of my house, in the company of some of these sons of the desert, when Góme, the brother of the sultan ʿAbd el Káder, from A'gades, who had lately been dethroned in order to make way for a new chief, A'hmed e' Rufáy, called upon me, and, with a very important and mysterious air, requested me to give him a private audience. After I had dismissed my other visitors,

he began by reminding me of the kind manner in which his brother had received me, and finished by urgently begging me to use my influence in order to restore ʿAbd el Káder to his former dignity. I had great difficulty in convincing him that I had very little influence with the emír el Múmenín, and that I was afraid my intercession would have little or no effect, although, as well by way of private acknowledgment for the kindness of my host in that place, where I began to acquire more confidence in the success of my proceedings, as from a persuasion of the influence which a great service rendered by me to this man would have upon my future prospects, I should have desired nothing better than to be the means of reinstating him in his former position.

Among the people who sought my acquaintance there was also Khalílu dan Hassan, one of the presumptive heirs to the royal power—Hassan being a younger brother of Bello—a young man of gentlemanly manners, but not of a very generous disposition, as he plainly evinced on my home journey the following year, when he wanted to oblige me to send him, after my safe return home, a pair of pistols in exchange for a black shirt scarcely worth 5000 shells, or two dollars.

All this time, I had employed my leisure hours in reading a manuscript work which had given me the first insight into the history of the western portion of these Féllani dominions. It had been composed by ʿAbd Alláhi, the brother of ʿOthmán the Reformer, to

whom the western portion of the conquered region was awarded as his share. But although this work, the title of which is "Tezén el aúrekát," contained, besides a great deal of theological matter, some important historical data, it did not satisfy my curiosity; and I had been endeavouring in vain to obtain the work of Bello, entitled "Infák el misúrí fi fat-há el Tekrúri," which had been earnestly recommended to me by my friend the fáki ʿAbd el Káder in Kátsena; but I did not succeed in getting it into my hands till a few days before I left this place, when I found that the greater part of its contents, which had any geographical or historical importance, were identical with those documents brought back by Captain Clapperton, on his first journey, and which have been partly translated by Mr. Salame, in the appendix to the account of those travels.

Meanwhile the country became more unsafe; and on the 5th of May the cattle of the village of Saláme were driven off by the people of Chéberi, to the great loss of my friend ʿAbd el Káder dan Taffa, who had considerable property there; but strongly reminded of the effects of the rainy season, by a heavy shower which fell on the 6th, driving me out of my cool shed, I urged my departure, and in the afternoon of the 8th took leave of ʿAlíyu with a cheerful spirit, it being evident to me, not only that he entertained not the slightest mistrust of my future proceedings, but on the contrary even took considerable interest in me, as he found that it was my earnest desire to become well

acquainted with the country and the people, and that I was anxious to establish friendly relations with the most distinguished and learned among them. But he gave me repeatedly to understand that he wished me not to go to Hamdalláhi, to present my compliments to their countrymen and coreligionists there and their chief or his successor, we having just received a few days previously the news of the death of Shékho A'hmedu, while he had not the slightest objection to my going to Timbúktu, and paying a visit to the sheikh el Bakáy, who had spent some time in Sókoto and was on friendly terms with the family of Fódiye.

CHAP. LVIII.

STATE OF INSECURITY ALONG THE MOST FREQUENTED HIGHROAD. — GANDO.

At length I was able to pursue my journey, which now, as soon as I had passed Sókoto, was to lead me into almost unknown regions, never trodden by European foot. Sunday, May 8th.

I was escorted out of the town, in grand style, by the ghaladíma with six horsemen, and then pursued my former track to Sókoto, the character of which was but little changed, on account of the vegetation having only just begun to be vivified and restored by the first showers of the rainy season. The little stream which skirts the foot of the hill on which the town of Sókoto is situated, and where we had watered our horses on our former excursion, now began gradually to increase, although as yet it exhibited but few signs of that considerable volume which I found here on my home journey the next year.

I was lodged in my old quarters, in the house of the ghaladíma, and was treated by my old friends Módibo 'Alí and Sáid with great hospitality. Although most anxious, on account of the season, to continue my journey with the shortest possible delay,

I remained here the four following days, in order to procure what was still wanted in my outfit for the long journey before me, but principally from regard to the interests of my companion ʿAlí el A′geren, who had here to arrange some business; hence we did not set out until the 14th of May.

There had been so heavy a shower the preceding afternoon, that a large stream broke through the roof of my dwelling and placed my whole room several inches under water. I passed, therefore, a most uncomfortable night, and when I got up in the morning I had a very bad headache. Every thing, also, was extremely wet, so that it took us a long time to get ready our camels, and it was eight o'clock when we left the kófa-n-Tarámnia, which, though the widest of the gates of the town, did not allow my two largest boxes to pass without damage.

A grandson of Módibo ʿAlí, together with Shékho the chief of the Zoromáwa, escorted me outside the town. The first was certainly sincere: but as for the second, I could not expect that he was in earnest in wishing me success in my undertaking; for the Zoromáwa, who are the chief traders of the country, viewed my enterprise with a great deal of mistrust, as they were told that I wanted to open an intercourse along the river.

Thus we entered the large open plain, which is only bounded, at the distance of about three miles to the north, by a low chain of hills, and scarcely dotted with a single tree. But the monotonous country at

present was not quite wanting in signs of life, the plentiful fall of rain having inspired the inhabitants of the several villages which were scattered about with sufficient confidence to trust their seed to the ground. Having then passed a larger village, called Kaffaráwa, we crossed a considerable depression or hollow, stretching from S.W. to N.E., with plenty of water, and with extensive grounds of yams, a branch of cultivation which, in these swampy valleys of Kebbi, is carried on to some extent; and this depression was soon succeeded by others of a like nature. Numerous herds of cattle were here grazing on the intervening pasture-grounds, which were adorned with sycamores and monkey-bread trees; and this continued till we reached Bodínga, and took up our quarters in a small cluster of huts lying on the outside, close to the wall. This time I did not enter the town, but I did so on my return journey, when I satisfied myself of the considerable size of the town, and the state of decay and desolation into which it has at present relapsed.

Sunday, May 15th.

While we were loading our camels, the governor of the town, who is a son of Módibo 'Alí, of the name of Mohámmedu, came out to pay me his compliments. He was of a cheerful disposition, and had treated us hospitably the preceding evening. He even accompanied me to a considerable distance, till we left, on our right, the town of Sifáwa or Shifáwa, an important place in the history of the Púllo reformer 'Othmán dan Fódiye, but at present almost desolate and reduced to great misery, present-

ing a fair specimen of the state of the province of Gando, which we here entered.

The country here, as well as near Bodínga, is almost exclusively adorned with monkey-bread trees, and the soil seemed to be very parched; but a little further on we descended into a depression which, having been already fertilised by the rain, was just being sown. Further on, the ground continuing undulating, we watered our horses at a rich source of living water which rushed out from the rocks at the side of a small hamlet. We then passed a large and comfortable-looking place called Dendi (perhaps after a portion of that tribe, which settled here) and adorned with a profusion of trees, among which the dorówa or *Parkia*, the góreba or dúm palm, and the gigíña or deléb palm were most conspicuous. Towards the south-east side it was bordered by a depression full of yams and fresh herbage, and fringed by numbers of monkey-bread trees. Even a little market-place was to be seen; and the place seemed so attractive to my people, that they would fain have spent here the rest of the day, and they were not at all pleased when I insisted on continuing our march. A little after noon we passed a pretty village with a small dyeing-place. Besides corn-fields, where the crops were already two inches out of the ground, indigo was cultivated to a great extent. We then entered upon rocky ground, and, five miles further on, reached the place Shagáli, separated into two groups along the northern slope of an eminence, and surrounded on three sides by

a deep and wide ravine, which made the access to it very difficult. Here we were rather inhospitably received,—the former mayor having been deposed, and a new one not yet installed in his place.

Monday, May 16th.

Early in the morning we pursued our journey, through a rather hilly country broken by several small watercourses, full of cultivated ground and fine timber, principally monkey-bread trees, which now exhibited a more cheerful appearance, as they were clad in fresh foliage. We passed several villages, where we again observed some signs of industry in the shape of dyeing, and, about six miles and a half from Shagáli, left the considerable place Señína (the same town which a few days before had been attacked by the enemy) on our left, situated on a small hilly chain. Here we entered a tract of country at present desolate, and thickly covered with underwood, and greatly infested by the independent inhabitants of Kebbi; but it was only of small extent, and, about four miles beyond Señína, we entered, by a steep rocky descent, the fine valley of Sála, which is intersected by a considerable sheet of water.

We took up our quarters in the walled town of Sála, the dwellings of which were almost lost in the most splendid vegetation, among which one of the finest tamarind trees I have ever seen was greatly distinguished, attracting to its dense foliage countless flights of birds, which were gathering from all sides to pass the night here in cheerful communion. The wider-spreading foliage of the tamarind and monkey-

bread trees was very picturesquely diversified by a large number of gónda trees, or *Carica Papaya*, while in front of the principal gate a most splendid rímí or bentang tree, was starting forth as a proud landmark, pointing out to the traveller the site of the gate. The camels, who suffered greatly from thirst, immediately on our arrival were sent off to the brook of living water, which is formed at the foot of the rocky cliff a little to the north of the place where we had descended from the higher ground.

Tuesday, May 17th. We reached Gando, the residence of another powerful Púllo prince (as powerful as that of Sókoto), after a march of six hours, through a country richly provided by nature, and partly, at least, well inhabited. Hill and dale alternated, the depressions and cavities offering suitable grounds for the cultivation of yams. The vegetable kingdom also displayed its larger members in great variety. In the village Babanídi, which we passed about two miles from Sála, we observed the three species of palms which are common to Negroland, in the same locality — viz., the dúm, the date, and the deléb palm, while, near a swampy sheet of water before we came to Masáma, I caught sight of the first banána or áyaba tree that I had seen since I had left A'damáwa, with the exception of those young offshoots which I had observed in Bamúrna. Near this latter place, which was situated at the border of a deep valley, a large swamp spread out covered with rank reed-grass; and beyond the town

of Masáma we had to cross another large and irregular valley or fáddama, where, even at this season of the year, a large sheet of water was formed, which, according to the statement of the natives, was full of alligators.

The towns also exhibited a considerable degree of industry in their dyeing-places; and a short distance from our halting-place we even passed large hollows about two fathoms in depth, and one in particular where iron had been dug out. Small marketing stalls in some places lined the road, and the town of Masáma, with its straggling suburbs, presented an animated spectacle; but cattle were greatly wanting, nothing but sheep being seen, as all the horned cattle had been carried away by the predatory bands of Argúngo.

As we approached the town of Gando, I could not help wondering how the people had been led to choose this locality as the seat of a large empire, commanded as it was by hilly chains all around, in the manner shown in the accompanying woodcut,

while the rising ground would have offered a far more suitable locality. But the situation of the town is on a par with the character of its dominion — without commanding strength, and quite incapable of keeping together that large agglomeration of provinces which have gathered around it. However, for a provincial town, the interior is very

pleasant and animated, being adorned with a variety of trees, among which the banana is prominent.

Having sent a messenger in advance, I soon obtained quarters in the house of El Khassa, the chief eunuch of the court; but they were extremely narrow and unpleasant, although I had a very good clay house for myself.

Thus I had entered the residence of another very important Púllo chief, whose dominion extended several hundred miles over the country which I had to traverse, and whose friendship it was of the utmost importance for me to secure, as his provinces inclose both banks of the Niger, while the dominion of the sultan of Sókoto does not reach the principal branch at all. It was the more unfavourable that the present ruler of this very extensive kingdom should be a man without energy, and most inaccessible to a European and a Christian. His name is Khalílu, and he is the son of 'Abd Alláhi*, the brother of the great Reformer 'Othmán, to whom that remarkable man, at his death, gave the western part of his vast domains, while he installed the celebrated Sultan Bello over the eastern portion.

* 'Abd Alláhi died 20th of Moharrem 1245; and Mohammed died 4th of Ramadhán 1250. The children of 'Abd Alláhi were the following: Mohammed Wáni, Khalílu, 'Abd el Kádiri Inneháwa, Halíru or Hadhíru and 'Alíyu (masuyáki)*, 'Abd el Kádiri Ay, Hassan, 'Abd e' Rahmáni, A'bú Bakr Maiguña, Is-háko, Mamman Sambo (maiyáki).*

* Maiyáki (*pl.* masuyáki) means commander-in-chief.

Khalílu succeeded to his brother Mohammed Wáni about seventeen years ago, and has since lived in a state of the greatest seclusion, well fitted for a monk, but by no means suited to the ruler of a vast empire, employing one of his brothers in order to keep up a certain show of imperial dignity where it was absolutely necessary. Thus, during the first few years of his reign, he had employed 'Abd el Kádiri, and was now employing Halíru, or, as the name is written, Hadhíru. Even by Mohammedans he is scarcely ever to be seen except on Fridays. It appeared, from my first arrival, extremely doubtful whether he would allow me to see his holy face; and after a vain struggle, merely in order that, by an untimely obstinacy in matters of form, I might not frustrate all my schemes of discovery, I agreed at length to deliver my present to the messengers of the sultan, in his palace, without seeing him. This present consisted of almost the same number of articles as I had given to the emír of Sókoto, with the exception of the silver-mounted pistols. I gave him three bernúses —one of yellow, one of red cloth, and the third of the kind called heláli; a háik or jeríd of the finest quality, a Stambúli carpet, two entire pieces of muslin, a red cap, four loaves of sugar, three phials of rose oil, a pair of razors, five looking-glasses, a pound of cloves, and another of benzoin.

It was very unfortunate that a foreigner and an adventurer, who had no other interest than his own selfishness, became the go-between with me and the

sultan, and found ample opportunities, owing to the monkish character of the latter, for advancing his own interests, in the thousand embarrassments which he caused me. This was El Bakáy, a person who made me hate his very name, though it afterwards became so dear to me on account of my protector in Timbúktu being called by the same. However, he also was an Arab from the west, and from the tribe of the Kunta, but not connected in any way with the family of the sheikh. After having tried his fortune in several other places along the Niger, especially in Zágha and Yélu, he had at length settled down here, constituting himself a sort of consul of the Arabs, and, in the miserable state into which affairs were plunged in this court, soon exercising a great influence over the principal and the secondary rulers; for, besides Khalílu, his several brothers enjoyed a large share of authority, to all of whom I had, in consequence, to make suitable presents besides. The most remarkable amongst them were the above-mentioned Halíru and Bú-Bakr Maiguña, the latter an aspiring and restless man, who occasionally distinguished himself by acts of great violence, and to whom, in consequence, I had to make a more respectable present, in order to ensure myself against any predatory proceedings on his part.

My present to the sultan himself seemed at first to have given great satisfaction; but after a few days, matters assumed a different aspect, and I was told that the pistols which I had given to 'Alíyu

were of more value than the whole of the presents which Khalílu had received from me, while the empire of the latter extended over a larger tract of country than that of the former; and I was clearly given to understand that it was not in my power either to proceed or even to retrace my steps, unless I gave much larger presents. After a protracted and serious dispute with El Bakáy and my broker ʿAlí el A′geren, I came at length to the determination of sacrificing the second handsome pair of silver-mounted pistols which I possessed, and then at length I had some prospect of being allowed to proceed on my journey, although the state of the country before me was really such as to make progress appear very difficult, and it was certainly very doubtful whether I should be able to reach the river. After much trouble and a great number of presents, however, which I had to give to the crafty Arab, I managed even to obtain a letter of franchise from Khalílu written with his own hand, but in so general a style that it had not much the character externally of an official document, although its contents were altogether very satisfactory, guaranteeing full security to any Englishmen visiting his territories, and commanding the officers of the various provinces to respect their property and to facilitate their proceedings.

Besides the presents to be given to all these people, I had also to make a fresh sacrifice to my Arab ʿAlí el A′geren; for, notwithstanding the arrange-

ment which I had previously made with him, when he saw the difficulties I was in, and being aware that the easy part of my journey was now over, he threatened to leave me if I did not accept the conditions which he prescribed to me. I had also the misfortune to lose, during my stay here, my best camel, which I had bought from the governor of Kátsena for 60,000 shells; so that I was obliged to purchase another animal from Bú Bakr Maiguña at the price he demanded, camels here being very scarce.

Notwithstanding all this disagreeable business, which occasionally cost me much bitter reflection, greatly enhanced by the advance of the season, the month of May being at an end, and that of June having set in with violent rains, I passed the time during my residence in this place not quite uselessly, especially as I was so fortunate as to obtain here from a learned man of the name of Bokhári, a son of the late Mohammed Wáni, a copy of that most valuable historical work of A'hmed Bábá, to which my friend 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, had first called my attention, but without being able to satisfy my curiosity; and I spent three or four days most pleasantly in extracting the more important historical data of this work, which opened to me quite a new insight into the history of the regions on the middle course of the Niger, whither I was bending my steps, exciting in me a far more lively interest than I had previously felt in a kingdom the great power of

which, in former times, I here found set forth in very clear and distinct outlines, and I only lamented that I had not time enough to copy the whole.

As for the town of Gando itself, there was not much to be seen; and the situation of the place, hemmed in as it is in a narrow valley, did not admit of long excursions; moreover, the insecurity of the neighbourhood was so great that it was not possible, at least in a northerly direction, to proceed many yards from the wall. Several times during my stay the alarm was given that the enemy was approaching; and the whole political state of the place was plunged into the most terrible disorder, the enemy being established in several strong places at scarcely half a day's journey distance, Argúngo being the residence of Dáúd the rebellious chief of the independent Kábáwa. A numerous foray ("yáki," or, as the Fúlbe say, "konno") left early in the morning of the 29th of May, but returned the same evening amid the noisy manifestations of the inhabitants. They had however only given an additional proof of their cowardly disposition, inasmuch as they had not even dared to attack the enemy, who had just succeeded in ransacking the town of Yára, and were carrying all the unfortunate inhabitants into slavery.

The interior of the place was not quite without its charms, the whole of the town being intersected, from north to south, by the broad and shallow bed of a torrent, which exhibited fine pasture-grounds of

fresh succulent herbage, while it was skirted on both sides by a dense border of exuberant vegetation, which altogether is much richer in this place than either in Sókoto or Wurno, being surpassed only by the fine vegetable ornament of Kanó. The rains are extremely plentiful in Gando, causing here quite an exceptional state in the productive power of the soil; and to this circumstance we have partly to ascribe the fact that very fine bananas are grown here in considerable quantity: and the fruit being just ripe at the time, formed a very pleasant variation to my usual food. The onion of Gando is remarkable for its size and quality, compared with that of all the neighbouring districts; and it is well for the traveller, in whatever direction he may intend to go, to lay in a supply of this wholesome article. But the place is extremely dull, and the market very insignificant—a fact easily to be explained by the desperate state of the provinces around, although the situation of the capital, as a central place for commerce, is rather favourable. But the town of Jéga has not yet lost, in this respect, the whole of its former importance, and is still the great entrepôt for that coarse kind of coloured silk which is imported from the north, and which, notwithstanding its very inferior character, is nevertheless so greatly sought after by the natives for adorning their leatherwork. It is, perhaps, in consequence of the little trade which is carried on, that the people of Gando have applied themselves with more industry

to supplying their own want of cotton cloth — and no one can deny that their cotton strips are of first-rate quality: their dyeing, on the contrary, is very coarse, and they seem quite unable to give to the dyed cloth that lustre which so eminently distinguishes the manufactures of Núpe and Kanó; but nevertheless this cloth of Gando is in great demand as far as Libtáko.

The kingdom or empire of Gando, according to its titles, comprises a number of wealthy provinces, all lying along that great West-African river which opens such an easy access into this continent, or on its branches; although nobody who stays in the capital for any length of time would suppose that it holds such a preeminent rank. I shall give some further details respecting these provinces in the Appendix*; here I will only enumerate them by name. They are, the western half of Kebbi, Maúri or A'rewá, Zabérma, Dén-dina (comprising Kénga-koy and Zágha), a great part of Gurma (comprising the provinces of Galaijo, Toróde, Yágha, and Libtáko), with a small portion of Borgu or Barba, a large portion of Yóruba with the capital Alóri or Ilórin, and, on the east side of the river, the provinces of Yaúri and Núpe or Nyffi. But at that time most of these provinces were plunged into an abyss of anarchy, which could not fail to impart to the capital a more sombre aspect than it may possess in general.

* See Appendix VI.

CHAP. LIX.

THE PROVINCE OF KEBBI AND ITS RIVER.—THE SALT VALLEY OF FÓGHA.—REACH THE NIGER.

Saturday, June 4th. At length I was allowed to proceed on my journey, which now soon promised to become of overwhelming interest, as I was approaching that great African river which has been the object of so much discussion and individual ambition for so long a period. There had been a very heavy thunderstorm during the night, accompanied by a great abundance of rain, which lasted till late in the morning, and delayed my setting out for a considerable time. It was almost eleven o'clock when we at length left the western gate of the town, or the kófa-n-Jéga, and entered the open fields, where the crop was already shooting forth. Keeping along the rocky ground bordering the valley on the north side, we soon had a specimen of the swamps which during the rainy season are formed in these deep valleys of Kebbi, while we beheld here also extensive rice-grounds, the first which I saw under actual cultivation. But the guide, who was to accompany me to the very western extremity of the territory of Khalílu, having not yet arrived, we made only a short march of about six miles, and took up our quarters in a

comfortable hut lying outside the walls of Kámbasa, which, by a separate wall, is divided into two distinct quarters.

This town lies on the north side of a large swamp, which fills the bottom of the fáddama, and affords excellent grounds for the cultivation of rice. The governor treated me hospitably, sending me everything that was wanted for a good African dinner, from a sheep down to a bit of salt and a few cakes of dodówa; and I made him a suitable present in return. During the night we suffered greatly from mosquitoes, giving us a fair idea of what we were to expect on our journey through these swampy valleys.

Another storm again delayed our departure this morning; and being now in the middle of the rainy season, I had a fair sample of what I should have to endure on my long journey to Timbúktu. In consequence of the rain, it was again eleven o'clock before we could start. The principal road leads along the northern bank of the fáddama, by way of Zóro, the residence of Cháfo a son of Khalílu; but it was deemed too unsafe in the present unsettled state of the country,—that very town of Zóro, although situated on the north side of the fáddama, at present being only accessible from the south; and it was decided, therefore, to cross the swamp close to Kámbasa, in order that it might afford us protection, in our further progress through this unsafe region, against any sudden attack from the rebels in the northern part of the province.

Sunday, June 5th.

Thus proceeding along the south side of the sheet of water, here about 200 yards broad and thickly overgrown with tall reeds of different species, including a large proportion of papyrus, we reached, after a little less than two miles, another walled town, likewise called Kámbasa,—a civil war having broken out among the inhabitants of the former town, and a portion of them having separated from the original tribe, and settled in this place. We then continued along the southern side of the valley, till, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a small branch which joins the chief trunk of the valley from the south, and opened a view of Mount Bóbye, over the saddle of which the road leads from Támbawel to Jéga, the great market-place of this quarter of the country, while the fád-dama, here spreading out in a large sheet of water, receded behind a walled town called Badda-badda. A track frequented by the elephant, of which for a long time I had seen no traces, led through the rich pasture-ground, to the edge of the water. Almost the whole cultivation along this fertile but swampy valley consisted of rice. It was about 1200 yards broad, and even at the present season, before the rains had set in, was full of water. A couple of months later it inundates its low borders, and almost precludes any passage, so that, on my home journey from the west, I was obliged to pursue another path. The crops of Negro corn were here already three inches high, numbers of people being busily em-

ployed in the labours of the fields, while an isolated deléb palm gave a peculiar character to the landscape. The prevailing representatives of the vegetable kingdom were the dorówa and the useful kadeña tree. The pasture-grounds were full of cattle; and everything testified to the rich nature of the district, which is still very populous. After passing another walled town perched on the high border of the swampy valley, three miles and a half beyond Badda-badda, we reached Gaúmaché, at present reduced to a small hamlet, or rather "rúmde," inhabited exclusively by slaves, and adorned by a few specimens of the butter tree and the dorówa. It was once a large walled town; but in the sanguinary war between the native Kábáwa and the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe, it was destroyed by the former.

Having crossed here a considerable stream of running water, which testified to the quantity of rain which had fallen in this district, we passed, on our left, the large walled town of Talba, where the beating of drums gave proof of warlike preparation. The fields around were adorned with numbers of deléb palms.

At a short distance from Talba lies Dáube. The whole of this district had attained a high degree of power and prosperity under the dominion of the Kanta, and had only recently begun, in consequence of the war of independence, to lose many of its former centres of human industry.

An obvious illustration of this desolation was

afforded by the little town of Yára, which we reached after another three miles. We had left the fáddama at some distance on our right, and kept along rocky ground occasionally broken by patches of fine sandy soil. But we were urgently warned, by people whom we met on our road, of the danger of an approaching ghazzia.

This place, which a short time ago was the seat of human wellbeing, had been destroyed by the enemy on the 29th of the preceding month, and all the inhabitants carried into slavery, notwithstanding the presence of the expedition which, as I have mentioned above, marched out from Gando to the succour of their countrymen. The aspect of the place was doleful and melancholy in the extreme, corresponding well with the dangerous situation in which we found ourselves; and while traversing the half-ruined village, which from a bustling little place had become the abode of death, I almost involuntarily snatched my gun, and held it steadily in my hand. But life and death in these regions are closely allied; and we had scarcely left the ruined village behind us, when, in a widening of the fáddama, which again opened on our right, we were greeted by a most luxuriant rice-field, where the crops were already almost three feet high, and girt by the finest border of a rich variety of shady trees, such as the dorówa, kadé, and kágim, overtopped by a number of tall deléb palms, the golden fruit of which, half ripe, was starting forth from under the feathery foliage.

But our attention was soon diverted from the enjoyment of this scenery, to a point of greater interest to ourselves. We here observed a solitary individual, in spite of the unsafe state of the country, sitting quietly at the foot of one of the palm trees, and seemingly enjoying its fruit. Now, coupling the present state of the country with the news we had just received, we could not help greatly suspecting this man to be a spy, posted here by the enemy in order to give them information of the passers by; and I had the greatest difficulty in preventing my Méjebrí Arab, who, when there was no danger for himself, always mustered a great amount of courage, from shooting this suspicious-looking character.

Proceeding then through a very rich country, we reached, after a march of about two miles, the town of Gúlumbé, situated close to the southern border of the valley, and exhibiting extensive fields cultivated with yams and cotton. The banana constituted the chief ornament of the narrow border inclosed between the fáddama on one side, and the wall of the town on the other, and the gónda or *Erica Papaya*, raising its feathery foliage on its slender, virginlike stem, towered proudly over the wall, as shown in the woodcut on the next page. The town was walled, of considerable size, and densely inhabited; but nevertheless the people were in such dread of the enemy, that they kept up a continual beating of drums; and although, on account of the smallness of the gate, we encamped outside, in a courtyard situated

between the wall and the border of the fáddama, we thought it prudent to fire a few shots, in order to apprize the people around that we were well prepared to receive them, to the great relief of the

inhabitants of the town, who, delighted at the unexpected addition to their strength, treated us in a very hospitable manner. The only disturbance to our night's rest was caused by the mosquitoes, which harassed us greatly and drove most of my people into the rúdu, that kind of raised hut which I have described on a former occasion, and which forms the most essential part of even the poorest dwelling in the province of Kebbi.

Monday, June 6th. After a thunder-storm accompanied by a few drops of rain, the night was succeeded by a beautiful morning; and I felt great pleasure in

surveying the interesting landscape, only regretting that the insecure state of the country did not allow the natives to enjoy it in tranquillity, the war having driven thousands of people from their homes, and as many more into captivity. The fields on this side of the town, as well as on the other, where we had approached it the day before, were fenced with great care, while horses and asses were grazing on the rich pasture-grounds. After a little more than a mile and a half, we passed, on our left, a farming-village called I'gené, after its master, a cheerful Púllo of advanced age, who was just inspecting the labour of his slaves in the fields. The crops hereabouts were already more than a foot above the ground; and a little further on they reached a height of two feet. Besides sorghum, yams were cultivated to a great extent; but nevertheless, on account of the insecurity of the country, dearth and famine everywhere prevailed.

A little further on we passed, on our left, a considerable sheet of water, with plenty of dorówa, large kadé, and sycamores. The deléb palms had ceased just beyond I'gené. A broad flat-topped mountain, called Hamári, at the eastern foot of which lies the town of Zóro, broke the uniform surface of the country.

Proceeding through this rich but distracted and unsafe district, I was greatly delighted when, near the walled town of Kardi, I fell in with a solitary and courageous pilgrim, a Jolof, from the shores of the Atlantic, carrying his little luggage on his head, and seemingly well prepared to defend it with his

double-barrelled gun which he carried on his shoulder, and a short sword hanging at his side, while his shirt was tossed gallantly up, and tied over the shoulder, behind the neck. In my joy at the sight of this enterprising native traveller, I could not forbear making him a small present, in order to assist him in his arduous undertaking.

The walls of the town of Kardi, which is chiefly inhabited by the slaves of Khalílu, and which is of great importance for the supply of corn in this province, were strengthened by a thick fence of thorny bushes, which, in these regions, afford an immense advantage in the defence of any town, by furnishing a secure place of retreat to the archers.

The green bottom of the wide fáddama had receded to a greater distance on our right; but we joined it again seven miles from Gúlumbé, and had here to cross it beyond a couple of hamlets which, lying close together and called, the one Háusáwa, and the other Kábáwa, gave us a slight indication as to the history of this country, where the Háusa element, as the more civilized, gradually gained the upper hand and drove the native element as well as the Songhay, which advanced from the west, into the background. Perhaps, if we knew more of the history of this country, the annals of these two villages might open to us a view of an interesting national struggle. The fáddama was here at present dry; and besides yams a great deal of tobacco was cultivated. We then traversed a wooded tract adorned with a violet *lili-*

acea and with the bush tsáda or bidér, the delicious cherrylike fruit of which I have mentioned repeatedly, and, slightly ascending, reached, a little before eleven o'clock, the beautiful site of the former more extensive wall of the large town of Bírni-n-Kebbi. It was founded in this commanding position by the dynasty of the Kanta, at the time when the rival Songhay empire was dashed to pieces and became the prey of foreigners and of a number of small tribes, who had once been kept in a state of insignificance and subjection.

Under such circumstances Kebbi, besides being the seat of a powerful kingdom, became also the centre of a considerable trade even in gold, till it was destroyed by the Fúlbe under 'Abd Alláhi, in the year of the Hejra 1221, when a great deal of gold and silver is said to have been found among the ruins. The royal palace, however (the ruins of which I visited), does not seem to have been very extensive; but this in part may be attributed to the fact that a great portion of the residence consisted of straw huts for the female department and the followers.* The walls of the present town are almost a mile distant from those of the old one, lying close to the steep slope which, with a descent of about 250 feet, goes down here into the large green valley or fáddama which intersects the whole of Kebbi from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and is

* Kálgo, at the northern foot of the mountain, lies south-west from here, and the town of Gurma, at present destroyed, north-east beyond the valley.

at this part almost three miles in breadth, affording the richest ground for cultivation, but at present plunged in a state of the utmost insecurity. Even then it was full of cattle, at least its southerly part; but they had to be carefully watched by the natives from above the slope, for the whole of the country on the other side, the hilly chains and cones of which are clearly seen, is in the hands of the A'zena, that is to say, those native inhabitants of Kebbi who, since the death of the more energetic 'Atíku, are successfully struggling for their religious and political independence. On the very brink of the slope a market was held, where we bought some necessaries before entering the town; and I willingly lingered a few moments, as the whole presented a very novel sight, increased by a picturesque spur or promontory which juts out into the valley a few miles to the west, and is a remarkable feature in the landscape. We then entered the town, which is rather thickly inhabited, but is far from presenting that cheerful aspect which is peculiar to most of the towns in these regions, as it is almost bare of trees. I myself was quartered in an excellent hut, belonging to a newly-married couple, and possessing all the comforts of which these simple dwellings are capable, — the floor and walls of the hut being neatly polished, and the background or "nanne" being newly sprinkled with snow-white sand; but the whole of the courtyard was extremely narrow, and scarcely afforded space for my horses and camels.

There are two great men in the town, 'Othmán Lowel and 'Othmán Záki; but the former is the real governor of the place, bearing the pompous but rather precarious title of serkí-n-Kebbi—for even he, at the present time, possesses such limited authority, that it was rather out of my respect for historical connections than for his real power*, that I made him a considerable present. He is a man of simple manners, without pretensions, and almost blind. His residence was distinguished by its neatness. The other great man, 'Othmán Záki, who was many years ago governor of Núpe, and knew Clapperton, although I did not pay him a visit, showed his friendship for me by very hospitable treatment. He has since returned to Núpe, and is rebuilding Rabba. We had a long conversation in the afternoon with the more respectable inhabitants, on the subject of our journey, and most of the people thought that I should not succeed in reaching the Niger, the country being in such a turbulent state; but they advised me to address myself to the governor of Zogírma, who was the only man, they said, able to assist me in my endeavours to traverse that part of the country with some degree of security.

In the morning, we left the town in the company of a son of 'Othmán, a person of manly bearing and a rather European expression of countenance; and traversing the fields, which were

Tuesday, June 7th.

* For a statement of the few facts which have come to my knowledge, with regard to the history of this kingdom, see Appendix.

quite dry and as yet without any preparation for cultivation, we directed our march straight for a pass in the mountain-spur which I have mentioned above, and which is called Dúko; but we found it too narrow for our heavily-laden camels to pass through, the path being cut into the sandstone like a gutter, so that I was obliged to send my train round the southern slope of the promontory. We thus descended almost to the level of the fáddama; but having traversed a richly-wooded vale with a variety of trees, such as dynnia, mádachi, and fresh kadé, we had another mountain-spur on our left, while on the right the exuberant savanna of the valley became visible. The place was enlivened by cattle, and occasionally by a sheet of water at times fringed with a rich border of vegetation, amongst which also isolated specimens of the deléb palm, besides dorówa, were not wanting.

Thus we reached the foot of a rocky eminence, on the top of which the walled town of Kóla is situated in a very strong position, commanding the whole passage of the valley. It is the seat of a governor who bears the title of serkí-n-Záromé, and who is said to have as many as seventy musketeers under his command; so that, as he was an officer of much importance in this turbulent country, it did not seem advisable to pass him unnoticed, and we therefore determined to take up our quarters here, although it was still early in the morning. He has a large house or palace, but it is somewhat in decay. Having made him a small present, I was hospitably treated

both by himself and his sister, who sent me an excellent goose, which afforded a very pleasant change in my diet. He accompanied me the following morning to the boundary of his little territory.

Our road lay through fine corn-fields, shaded by beautiful dorówa trees, along the border of this fertile valley, which was formerly surrounded on both sides by an uninterrupted line of large walled towns. But most of them are now deserted and destroyed, such as the towns of Kúka (which lies about three hours north-west) and Ambúrsa; and both factions are continually harassing each other by predatory expeditions. In fact the state of the country is such, that the whole of the tribute which the province of Núpe has to pay to Gando is obliged to take the roundabout way through Zágha and Bunza, the latter of which is situated about eight miles south from Zogírma, on the river Gíndi, which is said to be navigable as far as this place, and sometimes even as far as Jéga. A considerable number of horses were grazing on the fine pasture-grounds at the border of the valley, under the protection of a couple of hamlets well defended by a stockade; but the herbage was full of small venomous snakes, which repeatedly crossed our path in such numbers as I never saw before. When we reached the border of the territory of Júggurú, my companion returned to his residence.

Leaving the walled town of Júggurú (surrounded by a good many monkey-bread trees) on the hills to our left, we reached, after a march of about five miles

along the border of the valley, and only once crossing a romantic rocky defile, the considerable town of Diggi; and here I had the satisfaction of being officially received by three sons of the governor of Zogírma, who quite unexpectedly came galloping up to the front and saluted me, wishing me all possible success on my dangerous undertaking, and bidding me welcome to the province of their father. The eldest of the three was a very handsome young man, and splendidly mounted upon a tall grey horse. Pursuing then our march in their company, we immediately entered the wide fáddama which separated us from Zogírma; and it took us more than three hours to cross this shallow swampy valley, the whole of which at the end of the rainy season is filled with water, but which at present was only intersected by two broken sheets of stagnant water, while I endeavoured in vain to make out, at this spot, an uninterrupted channel of the gulbi: and yet, in the month of September, the whole valley is flooded by a river of considerable breadth.

The town, which was surrounded by a clay wall in good repair, impressed me as being more considerable than I had supposed it to be. We were led immediately to our quarters, and were here treated with very good tíggera, or prepared millet and sour milk; after which a large calabash full of rice, and, a short time after, a heifer, were brought me as a present. Later in the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the governor, Hámed Búrtu, and found

him a very decent-looking man of from fifty to sixty years of age, with almost European features, but with rather a melancholy expression of countenance. His residence had a very stately appearance, and surprised me not a little by its style of architecture, which approached to the Gothic, although the fine and well-ornamented clay walls were only loosely held together by a framework of boards and branches. Presenting to him a red bernús of middling quality, a piece of muslin, a pair of razors, and some other trifles, I delivered to him the letter with which Khalílu had furnished me, and explained to him how the ruler of Gando had given me hopes of his being able to conduct me safe to Fógha; for the two horsemen whom I had with me, one from Gando and the other from Sókoto, were only of service as long as there was anything to eat and while there was no great danger. He received my address in the most cheerful manner, and informed me that there were two roads, one of them leading straight on through the midst of the forest from Zogírma to the town of Kallíul. This he said was the safest, though it was probably too difficult for my heavily-laden camels. The other, he added, was more convenient but very unsafe. He promised, however, that he would find trustworthy men to escort me.

Zogírma may contain from 7000 to 8000 inhabitants; but at that time it was suffering greatly from famine, on account of the war which had been raging for the last two years, between the Fúlbe conquerors

of the country and the native inhabitants the Dendi, who, favoured by the weakness of the government of their oppressors, had risen to assert their independence; and I could scarcely feel dissatisfied with my host when, after the first signs of hospitality which he had shown me, he left us to provide for our own wants, although we had some difficulty in procuring a sufficient supply of corn. I was very sorry that, owing to the unfavourable circumstances of the whole country, I was prevented from visiting the town of Bunza (which is situated south from Zogírma), on account of its interesting and important situation as regards the intercourse with Núpe on the lower part of the gulbi, where it is still navigable, and the number of deléb palms which are said to adorn it. There was also residing in this place a man whom I should like to have visited, inasmuch as he is reported to possess a great knowledge of the history of the Kanta, and of the relations of the province of Kebbi to the neighbouring countries. His name is Mállem Mahamúdu.

Thursday, June 9th. We were to start the following day, in order to allow our camels some rest before entering the unsafe wilderness; but in the course of the morning the news suddenly arrived that a party of Tawárek, with about forty camels besides bullocks and asses, had arrived at the neighbouring town of Tilli on their way to Fógha, thus affording us the opportunity of traversing the wilderness with some degree of security. It was therefore decided

that we should start in the afternoon by way of Tilli, which certainly lay greatly out of our road, in order to join this party, while my young friend A'bú Bakr, the eldest son of the governor, rode immediately to the neighbouring town to induce those people to wait for us. It was thus deemed sufficient to give me for companions only two horsemen; but fortunately they were of such a character that I preferred them to at least a dozen other people, both of them being experienced old warriors and most respectable men, one of them having been till lately the governor of the town of Débe, which was now deserted, and the site of which we had to pass on our road. I was heartily glad to get rid of my two former effeminate companions, Lowel, the servant of the governor of Gando, and Beshír, an attendant of the ghaladíma in Sókoto, as they had been of scarcely any use to me on my way hither, except, perhaps, in procuring me a better reception from the governors of the towns and villages; and I gladly complied with the demands of my new companions, by giving to each of them a new black "lithám" or "ráwani bakí" for themselves, a flask of rose oil for their wives, and one thousand shells for the expenses of their households during their absence.

Returning then in a north-easterly direction along the western border of the broad fáddama, we reached after a march of about four miles, when the sun had already gone down, the town of Tilli, which, coming from Diggi, we had had just opposite us on the other

side of the valley. Here the danger from the enemy was already considered so great, that the gates of the town on this side had been walled up, only a very narrow passage having been left, which could only be used by way of a drawbridge or kadárku. Having here learned that our new companions were already gone on in advance, and had encamped at the very border of the forest, we changed our direction from north-east to north-west, and, after a march of about a mile, encamped close to them. A large herd of cattle had its resting-place in the neighbourhood.

Friday, June 10th. When we started, at an early hour in the morning, we soon left the cultivated grounds and entered a dense forest, which at the present season had a very pleasant appearance, all the trees being in blossom, and spreading a delightful fragrance around. We were also agreeably surprised when, after proceeding about five miles, we passed two extensive ponds, which supplied us with delicious water. But on our return journey, in August 1854, the water of these same ponds had acquired such a pernicious character, that it almost poisoned the whole of my troop. A little beyond these ponds, we had a considerable rocky declivity, of about one hundred feet, from the top of which we surveyed the extensive forest before us. To our disappointment, we encamped at a very early hour, a little after noon; but a short distance further on, the danger would have become so imminent that it would have been unwise to pass the night there. Having,

therefore, pitched my tent in the midst of the forest, I indulged with great delight in the pleasure of an open encampment, such as I had not enjoyed since leaving Gáwasú, the dirty huts in which I had lately taken up my quarters having literally turned my stomach. But I had to enjoy this wild encampment rather longer than was pleasant; for we had to remain in it the whole of the following day, in consequence of my friends the A'sbenáwa losing, in the course of the night, one of their camels, which they did not choose to abandon. This involuntary feat of mine procured me a name in the whole neighbourhood, so that when I safely returned the following year from my journey to Timbúktu, the people of the neighbourhood designated me only as the man who had spent a day in the unsafe wilderness.

But it almost seemed as if we were to stay here a third day; for when we were getting ready our luggage early in the morning of the 12th, a very violent thunder-storm broke out, with torrents of rain, which made our open encampment rather uncomfortable, and did not allow us to start until a late hour. After a march of about four miles through a very dense forest with low ridges on our right, we reached the site of Bírni-n-Débe, a beautiful open spot adorned with a rich abundance of dorówa besides a tolerable number of deléb palms, while beyond the rich mass of vegetation a hilly chain approached from the north-east. Footprints of elephants were here observed in every direction. The rich character of the country scarcely allows the traveller to

suspect that a few miles to the north lies the province of Máuri or A'rewá, which all my authorities represent as a country approaching closely to the nature of the desert.

Having then entered again thick forest, which occasionally became so dense that it scarcely allowed us to pass, and caused repeated delays, we reached, after a march of about nine miles, a large depression or shallow vale coming from the north-east from the province of Máuri, and therefore called Dallul or Ráfi-n-Máuri (the Vale of Máuri), richly clad with a profusion of the most succulent herbage and with numerous deléb palms, besides a few specimens of the dúm palm; and having halted here for a few minutes near a well and the site of a former Púllo settlement of the name of Bána, we crossed the path which leads from Máuri to Yélu, the capital of the province of Déndina. This is the most dangerous part of the whole route, on account of the two provinces, that of Máuri and Déndina, having rebelled, and there being constant intercourse between the enemy in these two quarters along this track, so that our companions were not a little alarmed when fresh footprints of horses were here discovered. However we could move on but slowly on account of the dense thicket, and the anxiety of the people to collect the fruit of the deléb palm, corn being extremely scanty and scarcely to be got in this region at the time. Here the camel, which I had received from Khalílu in a present, and which I had given up to my Méjebrí

companion, went raving mad, making the most ludicrous leaps, and kicking in every direction, till it fell to the ground.

At length we emerged from the dense vegetation of the fertile but neglected vale, and ascended higher ground, which separates the dallul Máuri from the dallul Fógha*, and after a while obtained a sight of the hilly chain bordering the east side of the latter valley, which runs from N. 20° E. to S. 20° W., being at the broadest part about 1000 yards across. These valleys certainly form a very remarkable feature in this quarter, and, by their shallow character and the total want of a current in the water here collected, evidently prove the little inclination which the country has towards the Niger, as well as the limited extent of ground which they drain; and it seems extremely doubtful whether, even after the plentiful rains which occasionally fall in the mountainous country of A'sben, the watercourses of that region have even the slightest connection with these shallow vales which join the Niger.

It was half-past four in the afternoon when, greatly fatigued by our long and slow march, we gradually descended the shelving ground into the valley of Fógha, the beautifully sloping banks of which are adorned with a profusion of dúm palms, but are entirely wanting in deléb palms. Crossing then the green vale, which was clothed with rank grass, and

* Dallul Fógha joins the Niger at Bírni-n-Dóle, one day and a half from Gáya.

only presented here and there a broken sheet of water, we reached the first salt-manufacturing hamlet, which is situated on a mound of rubbish of almost regularly quadrangular shape, and of about thirty feet elevation, not unlike the ancient towns of Assyria, while at its foot a shallow dirty pond of brackish water of almost black colour spread out, — the whole scenery forming a very remarkable *ensemble*, of which an attempt has been made to give a fair representation in the plate opposite.

A few cattle were grazing here and there, but they looked very sickly and emaciated, and skeletons of others were lying about in all directions, proving the ravages that disease had made among them: for, besides the fact that general epidemic diseases visit the cattle in these regions as well as in the countries to the south of the equator at certain periods, the conquering tribe settled in this quarter having had to sustain a long siege against the enemy, most of their cattle, being cooped up in the town, had perished for want of pasture. Notwithstanding all these disasters, the inhabitants of Kallíul stood their ground; for the Fúlbe hereabouts are a very warlike race, and are excellent archers. Several of them, attracted by the news of the arrival of a caravan with corn, of which they stood so much in need, rushed past us on horseback as we were looking out for a place where we might take up our quarters with some degree of safety. Leaving two other salt-manufacturing hamlets on our left side

equally jutting out into the bottom of the vale, we descended at length from a higher slope crowned by a cluster of well-built but at present deserted huts; and being informed that the town of Kallíul, or Káura, was still some distance off, and far out of our road, we turned into one of these salt-hamlets, which was the fourth on this side. Here we were quartered in a very excellent hut, but suffered greatly from mosquitoes during the following night.

We remained in this poor hamlet the following day, and, being aware of the great distress which prevailed in the whole of this tract of country, I had no more urgent business than to despatch two of my men early in the morning to our companions the A'sbenáwa, who had encamped on the other side of the valley, in order to endeavour to buy from them as much corn as they were able to spare; but my servants soon returned with the news that the distressed inhabitants had taken from the fatáki or native traders all their corn by force. I was therefore rather badly off, but nevertheless was prevented from pursuing my route at once, as the camels wanted some repose. The site of our hamlet was highly interesting to me; and I soon set out for a stroll around this artificial mound of rubbish. It was of considerable size, measuring about 200 yards in length, and the same in breadth, with an elevation of 50 feet towards the bottom of the valley, and about 20 towards the edge of the bank,—the whole of this mound bearing evident proof of its artificial charac-

ter, consisting as it did of nothing but the soil of the valley itself, from which the saline particles had been extracted. The salt is here prepared in the following manner. The earth is taken from the bottom of the vale, and put into large funnels made of straw and reeds, when water is poured upon the earth, and strained through the funnels, after which it is caught in vessels placed underneath, and then boiled, and the sediment formed into the shape of a small loaf.

That it is the earth which contains the saline particles, and not the rank grass which grows here, I am quite sure, although in other places there is no doubt that salt is extracted from the grass growing in such localities: but this can only be done by burning, the salt being extracted from the ashes; and no such process is pursued here. The salt is of a greyish-yellow colour, and quite fit for cooking purposes; it is of a much better quality than the bitter salt of Bílma, although, no doubt, far inferior to the beautiful crystal salt of Taödénni, of which I here saw the first specimen with some Songhay pilgrims, who had left Hómbori four months previously on their way to Mekka. However, such a mode of proceeding is only practicable in the dry, or towards the beginning of the rainy season; for at the end of the latter the valley is quite full of water, which then is fresh, and is said to contain plenty of fish, the saltish properties of the soil being too scanty and inconsiderable to impregnate so large body of

water. Even at present a considerable quantity of the aqueous element had already collected, filling, in some places, the whole width of the valley between the two banks, to the depth of a foot or two, so that the people could not make use of the soil from the valley itself; but they had stored up a sufficient provision to enable them to carry on their labours for a month or two longer.

The Fúlbe call these places síle-chólli. It is only the salt which induces the inhabitants to remain in this locality; for they have been harassed extremely by their energetic enemy the Déndi. The town of Kallíul had had to sustain, during a very short period, no fewer than five attacks from the latter, whose chief seat, Yélu, closely borders upon their territory; and, in addition to the sad circumstance of all their cattle having died, these people had also lost the whole of their slaves, who, under such circumstances, had run away in a body. The neighbourhood, even at the present moment, was so unsafe, that the people of the town would not allow me to stay in the open hamlet where I was, and wanted me to come to them behind their wall; but fearing longer delay I declined, and fixed my departure for the following day.

Yélu*, the principal place of Déndina the country

* For the other places of Déndina, see Appendix V. Here I will only enumerate a few villages belonging to the districts which we passed on our road from Zogírma, and lying just in the border district of the Songhay and Háusa territories. Close to Júnju lie the following places, or rather hamlets, at present greatly reduced: Ka-

of the Déndi (a branch of the Songhay about whom I shall say more on another occasion), is situated only about seven or eight miles lower down this same valley, which joins the Great River at the town of Dóle, and which is especially inhabited by Songhay people. Their well-known and renowned chief, Gójida, had recently died, and had been succeeded by a younger brother of his, of the name of Gódu, who kept up the struggle against the conquering tribe with considerable energy, and probably, if he had been better provided with cavalry, would have long ago established the independence of his countrymen, by driving away the Fúlbe from the valley of Fógha, and thus opening a free intercourse with the countries to the north. But the inhabitants of Kallíul, as I assured myself especially on my return journey, when I entered the town, are hardy warriors, and keep well together, although that little community is ruled by four petty chiefs, — Señína, Mámma Yídi, and two brothers called Mámma Gúnga and A'medu Gúnga. Even on the present occasion of my journey westward, these petty chiefs paid me a visit, and I made each of them a small present; but none of them

rákará, 'Abd el 'Azi, Jabóre, Bébé, Dámana, Gangánge. The following places are said to lie along the dallul Fógha; but I am not able to indicate their situation more distinctly: Rúma, Béngu, Baná Harukári, Nyánsamé, Kúduru, Gergánga and Lúdu. There is no such town as "Bírni-n-Fógha," Fógha being only the name of the valley; but not far from Kallíul there is another town called Báura. Most of the villages mentioned are inhabited by pagans.

was able to supply me with even the smallest provision of corn, although they all evinced their benevolent disposition, and Señína (who, by wearing a miserable sort of bernús of the poorest description, seemed to vindicate his superiority over his brother chiefs) made me a present of 100 Kóla nuts, which luxury he could more easily spare than a few grains of corn. Mámma Yídi, on the other hand, an elderly gentleman, was distinguished by his amiable conduct, and understood even a little Háusa. Generally speaking, none of the Fúlbe here speak a single word of that language, the valley of Fógha forming the boundary between the Háusa and the Songhay languages. I likewise received a visit from two sons of the kádhi or alkáli, one of whom, of the name of 'Abd el Wahábi, was a remarkably handsome man, of very gentlemanlike bearing, more like a European in his countenance than a native of Negroland, and of a melancholy turn of mind, which awakened my interest in him.

Tuesday, June 14th.

My two warlike companions from Zogírma, who, by their experience and energetic conduct, had inspired me with almost unbounded confidence, and whom I should have liked to have attached to me for a much longer period, had returned home the moment I reached the border of the valley, finding their only safety in speed and secrecy, and cutting straight across the thickest part of the forest; and, in consequence, I had used all my endeavours to obtain here another escort, but

all in vain. However, Mámma Yídi having promised that a guide should overtake me on the road, I started tolerably early the next morning, in order to pursue my journey through this unsafe wilderness, being anxious not to cause more delay, and thus to increase the danger of my situation in consequence of the news of my proceedings having spread through the neighbourhood; but instead of making right across the country, I was first obliged to retrace my steps northwards, to the very place where I had crossed the valley two days previously, for, Kallíul being anything but a place of trade and commerce, all the little intercourse which is still going on in this region is carried on along the direct road, without touching at this place.

A few hundred yards higher up from this spot, a rich source of excellent fresh water gushes out from the rocky ground, and forms a large sheet in the bottom of the valley, affording a remarkable contrast to the black muddy water which covers the remainder of the surface. Having taken in here a supply of water, we then passed several other salt-hamlets or síle-chólli, and emerging from the valley ascended the higher ground, which presented open pastures with only a little underwood scattered in bushes here and there, principally the gónda bush and the poisonous plant, damankádda, which I have already mentioned repeatedly as forming an ornament of the landscape, at the same time that it endangers the life of the camel.

It was a beautiful morning, and the view over the valley from this undulating ground was highly interesting. We had just entered denser forest, when my friend Yídi overtook me, accompanied by two horsemen, and handing me, to my great surprise, besides a good provision of salt, 2000 kurdí, or shells, which I only reluctantly accepted for the sake of my servants. He also brought me a guide, who was to accompany me as far as Gárbo. We therefore pursued our march cheerfully, but experienced repeated delays in the thick covert of the forest. The trees were rather dry, and not very luxuriant, no rain having fallen in this part of the country for some time. A little further on we passed a small pond, where we fell in with a party of Tawárek half-castes from Zaberma or Chéggazar, who were carrying the salt of Fógha to their home, on a small number of oxen and asses. We encamped at a quarter past three o'clock in the afternoon, near another small pond, on an open spot, where I again enjoyed an open encampment, which is the greatest charm of a travelling life.

Wednesday, June 15th.

Soon after starting, we had to descend a rocky passage, and we were glad to find the road, from time to time, enlivened by small parties of travellers. First we fell in with a man of the name of Mohammed el Amín, from Hámed-Alláhi, the capital of the western empire of the Fúlbe, who had come by way of Júnju, and who, having cherished the good intention of performing the pilgrimage to

Mekka, had been frightened by the difficulties of the road; and further on we met another party of travellers, among whom was a Limtúni, that is to say, a Moor, a man of mixed Arab and Berber blood, of the ancient tribe of the Limtúna—who, having once formed the chief portion of the powerful confederation of the Merábetín (Almoravides), are at present scattered and settled, in small fragments, on the very shores of the Atlantic. He was a stout and active little fellow, with an open countenance, and, being on his way to Mekka, rushed immediately towards me to salute me, asking me whether I was a Turk or a Christian. I presented him with a dollar, requesting him to give a short note (which I wrote on the spot) to my friend Háj Beshír, in Kúkawa, wherein I informed him of my whereabouts.

Having then passed several ponds, among which the tebki Sugíndo was the most important, and made another rocky descent, from the top of which we overlooked the large valley or dallul of Bóso, and having turned round a small rocky ridge, we reached the village of Gárbo about two o'clock in the afternoon. Gárbo is a small place, half deserted, and greatly harassed by the enemy,—the Déndi of Tanda having made a foray against this place only two days previously, and carried away almost all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants. But it is of importance, as being the last Háusa place in this direction, the regions to the west belonging exclusively to the Songhay

and Fúlbe. A clay wall, which was to afford some protection to the town, had just been begun but left half finished. Numbers of corn-stacks inspired us with the hope that we might be able here to supply ourselves with corn; but not a grain was to be obtained. There was therefore no staying in this place, although our heavily laden camels were rather fatigued after the forced march through the wilderness.

At a tolerably early hour we were again on the march through the fields, where the fresh crops were just shooting up; but a little further on they had attained already to a greater height, and were just being cleared of weeds. Cattle also were not entirely wanting, and gave sufficient proof that, under a strong government, there were elements enough for the welfare of the people. The ground here is broken by several cavities or hollows, where ponds are formed, which of course vary in size according to the season. Some of them, although of considerable circumference, contained salt water of a blackish colour. Thus, having passed a fresh swampy depression, where dúm and deléb palms also were not unfrequent, we reached, after a march of about seven miles, a farming village called Lanadéji, where the peculiar structure of the corn-stacks attracted my attention; but, although built of clay, they are not pretty, and neither similar to the nobler style of those which we have found in the Músgu country, nor to those which we are to meet with further on, in the country of Másina. The whole cultivation consists

Thursday, June 16th.

here of Negro millet, to the exclusion of rice and sorghum. Last year's crop had here also been very scanty; and we endeavoured in vain to procure a supply. We had then to cross the bottom of the valley or ráfi, which at present exhibited only separate sheets of water, while on my return journey the following year, later in the season, it was almost entirely inundated. But at a short distance beyond the hamlet, even at present, we crossed with some difficulty an extensive swamp covered with rank grass.

We took up our quarters, after a march of about nine miles, in an open village situated on a rising ground, and overhanging a large sheet of water which is overgrown with reeds; it is called Songho-sáre, meaning probably "the town of the Songhay," but nevertheless a very remarkable name, as "sáre" is not a Songhay, but a Mandingo word. Besides Songhay and Fúlbe, it was inhabited by serfs belonging to the people of Támkala; and, being a farming village, it was full of corn-stacks. All the huts in these Songhay villages consist merely of reeds; and while they are less solid than the dwellings of Kebbi, which throughout are built with clay walls, they are better ventilated and have a less offensive smell. There was here a jovial old Púllo farmer, with a cheerful countenance and pleasing manners, of the name of Mámmaga, who behaved very hospitably towards me, and, besides milk and corn, even made me a present of a sheep.

There had been a thunder-storm in the night; but it was not accompanied with much rain, and the sky, not having been lightened by a discharge, was thickly overcast when we set out. An extensive tract of country consisting of sandy soil was here under cultivation, while the trees at first were very scanty; but gradually the country became more wooded, while considerable herds of cattle gave life to the landscape. After we had passed another pond of water, we halted for a few minutes to refresh ourselves near a herd of cattle, which was the property of a clan of Fúlbe, called Dánan-koye, the original inhabitants belonging to that part of the Songhay nation which are called Germábe; and proceeding through a more woody country with an undulating surface, we took up our quarters, at a very early hour, in another farming-village, called Tigóre: for my camels were in want of rest, and I was too weak myself to resist the wishes of my servants. This village is exclusively inhabited by independent farmers, although belonging to the native Songhay stock. The architecture of the place was entirely different from that of Songho-sáre (which is more of a slave-village), consisting of very large court-yards, which evidently appeared intended for a rich supply of cattle, although at the present moment no cattle were to be seen in the neighbourhood; and the huts themselves, although consisting entirely of reeds, were large and spacious. We had some dif-

Friday, June 17th.

ficulty in obtaining quarters, as the mayor of the hamlet was by no means of a jovial or hospitable disposition, besides that the Songhay in general are among the most inhospitable people I ever met, and, in their present degraded political situation, are of a rather sullen character. Moreover, the inhabitants of this hamlet, just at that moment, were in a state of great excitement, as they had received the news that Dáúdu, the young rebellious chieftain of Zaberma, or Zerma, was about to attack A'bú 'l Hassan, the governor of Támkala, with a strong force; and this ray of hope, of once more making themselves independent of those foreign intruders who had conquered their country, could not fail at once to rouse the national spirit of these people, who had formerly offered a long resistance to the Fúlbe, and to render them indisposed to honour a stranger who was paying his court to those foreign rulers, and at present was under the protection of the chief of Gando. This report was the reason of my giving up my intended visit to the town of Támkala, which lay a short distance out of our direct road to Say, towards the north, where we expected to find a supply of corn.

Saturday, June 18th. On leaving Tigóre, we passed by the well, which presented a busy scene, numbers of women being engaged in drawing water. Although situated in a depression, it was twelve fathoms in depth. Further on we passed another well, which had even been surrounded by a strong fence, to prevent strangers from using it; and in the village of

Tihóre, which we reached after a march of about eight miles, the well, although situated at the foot of the hill, measured as much as twenty-five fathoms in depth. Owing to the weak condition of my camels, I was induced by my people to take up my quarters in this village; but I was heartily tired of these short marches, for the hut where I was lodged was in very bad condition, being extremely small and dirty, with no trees to afford a little shade during the hot hours of the day. Provisions also were here very scanty; and it was with great difficulty that I obtained a small supply of corn for our horses. But I was so fortunate as to procure a little sour milk, there being a tolerably large herd of cattle belonging to Fúlbe cattle-breeders, who inhabit a sort of suburb at the north-western end of the village. The whole neighbourhood was suffering from drought, as there had been no rain for the last eight days; nor did a thunder-storm, which in the afternoon gathered from the east, bring us a single drop.

Sunday, June 19th.

The district also, through which lay the first part of this day's march, was extremely parched and suffering from want of rain, and in consequence of this drought, notwithstanding the advanced season, the ground hereabout had not yet been brought under cultivation; but after a march of a little more than three miles, through a country partly laid out in fields, partly covered with underwood, we entered a district which had been more favoured with rain, and where the labours of the

field had begun. The people here make use of a hoe with a long handle, of a different shape from what I observed in other quarters.

Forest and cultivated ground then again succeeded each other alternately; and having passed a farming-village of some extent called Tanna, we took up our quarters about four miles beyond, in a village called Tóndifú, but were obliged to use force to obtain a hut for our use, as the head man of the village was too lazy, or too obstinate, to leave his cool shed in the heat of the day: probably here also the news of the proceedings of their countrymen in Zaberma kept the minds of the people in a state of excitement. The hamlet, which is rather a miserable one, has received its name from lying at the commencement of a rocky district, which extends from here to the river, a hill or mound being called "tóndi" in the Songhay language. We were now close to the Niger; and I was justified in indulging in the hope that I might the next day behold with my own eyes that great river of Western Africa, which has caused such intense curiosity in Europe, and the upper part of the large eastern branch of which I had myself discovered.

Monday, June 20th. Elated with such feelings, I set out the next morning, at an early hour; and after a march of a little less than two hours, through a rocky wilderness covered with dense bushes, I obtained the first sight of the river, and in less than an hour more, during which I was in constant sight

of this noble spectacle, I reached the place of embarkation, opposite the town of Say.

In a noble unbroken stream, though here, where it has become contracted, only about 700 yards broad, hemmed in on this side by a rocky bank of from twenty to thirty feet in elevation, the great river of Western Africa (whose name, under whatever form it may appear, whether Dhiúlibá, Máyo, Eghírrëu, I'sa, Kwára, or Báki-n-rúwa, means nothing but "the river," and which therefore may well continue to be called the Niger) was gliding along, in a N.N.E. and S.S.W. direction, with a moderate current of about three miles an hour. On the flatter shore opposite, a large town was spreading out, the low rampart and huts of which were picturesquely overtopped by numbers of slender dúm palms.

This is the river-town, or "ford," the name Say meaning, in this eastern dialect, "the river." The Fúlbe call it Ghútil, which name may originally have been applied to the ford at the island of Oitilli. The banks at present were not high; but the river, as it rises, approaches the very border of the rocky slope.

I had sent a messenger in advance, the preceding day, in order to have some large boats ready for me to cross the river. But no boat having arrived, I had plenty of leisure for contemplating the river scenery, which is represented in the plate opposite. There were a good number of passengers, Fúlbe and Songhay, with asses and pack-oxen, and there were some smaller boats in readiness suitable to their wants; but

at length the boats, or rather canoes, which were to carry me and my effects across, made their appearance. They were of good size, about forty feet in length, and from four to five feet in width in the middle, consisting of two trunks of trees hollowed out, and sewn together in the centre. These boats are chiefly employed for conveying the corn from the town of Sínder, which lies higher up the river, to the town of Say; and they had been expressly sent for by the "king of the waters," or the inspector of the harbour, the "serkí-n-jirgí," or "lámido-lála," as he is called by the Fúlbe, or "híyokoy," according to his title in the Songhay language. The largest of them was able to carry three of my camels; and the water was kept out much better than I had ever yet found to be the case with the native craft of the inhabitants of Negroland.

My camels, horses, people, and luggage having crossed over without an accident, I myself followed, about one o'clock in the afternoon, filled with delight when floating on the waters of this celebrated stream the exploration of which had cost the sacrifice of so many noble lives. A little nearer the western bank, a short distance below the spot where the river is generally crossed, an isolated rock starts forth from the river, rising at this season from twelve to fifteen feet above the surface; and beyond there is a smaller one, which, as the river rises a little higher, becomes covered by the water. The sight of the river was the more momentous to me, as I was soon again to

take leave of it; for my former notion, that I should be able to reach Timbúktu only by way of Libtáko, had been confirmed in Gando, and I only entertained a slight hope that perhaps on a future occasion I might visit that part of the river between Timbúktu and Say. From the very beginning I entertained strong doubts whether I should be able to reach the western coast; and it seemed to me more interesting to survey the course of the Niger between the point where it has become tolerably well known by the labours of Mungo Park and Réné Caillié and the lower portion explored by the Landers, than to cross the whole extent of Central Africa.

Having presented myself at the governor's house, I soon obtained quarters; but they were not at all according to my fancy, being small and narrow. The town, in its very low position, is not refreshed by a single current of air, and altogether has a very oppressive atmosphere. The huts in these Songhay places are made rather for women than for men, the greater part of each hut being occupied by the female apartment or the alkilla, and the bedstead or serír, made of the branches of trees, being inclosed in a separate chamber of mats, and thus leaving only a very small entrance, and obstructing the whole interior of the dwelling. I have already had occasion, in describing the town of A'gades, to point out the care which the Songhay people bestow upon their matrimonial couches; and I was obliged first of all to take down one of these small matting bed-rooms in order

to obtain some little ventilation in my hut. At length I had made myself somewhat comfortable, when the governor sent two calabashes of rice in the husk, and two others of millet, but no refreshment for the moment, though I stood very much in need of it, having been exposed to the sun during the hottest part of the day. To the master of the harbour, who had so opportunely supplied me with the large boats, I made a present of 1000 shells. Very little rain had fallen as yet in this neighbourhood; and a thunderstorm which broke out in the afternoon did not reach us. Indeed the air in this low valley, which is probably at a level of about 350 ft., was so oppressive, that I felt at times almost suffocated, and unable to breathe.

The following morning I took a ride round the place and its neighbourhood. The shape of the town is tolerably quadrangular, being encompassed on three sides by a low rampart of earth, the side towards the river being unprotected. It is of considerable size, each side measuring about 1400 yards; but the town is only thinly inhabited, the dwellings (all of which except the house of the governor, consist of matting and reeds) lying scattered about like so many separate hamlets. It is intersected from north to south by a wide shallow depression or vale encompassed by dúm palms, which are almost the only trees either inside or outside the town; and at the end of the rainy season it becomes filled with water, causing great inconvenience to the business of the town and

the intercourse between the various quarters, and greatly contributing to its unhealthiness. There can be no doubt that, in seasons when the river reaches an unusual height, the whole town is under water, the inhabitants being obliged to seek safety beyond the borders of the valley.

There is a market held every day in the eastern part, not far from the bank of the river. Poor as it is, it is of some importance in the present state of the country: and hence the town has a great name as a market-place among the inhabitants of Western Súdán, a great many of whom here supply their want of native manufactures, especially of the common clothing for males and females, as the art of weaving and dyeing is greatly neglected in this quarter, cotton being cultivated only to a very small extent. But the place was most miserably supplied with provisions, there being no store of grain whatever. Everything necessary was brought day by day from the town called Sínder — the same place which I have mentioned as being situated about eighty miles higher up the river. I was greatly surprised at not finding here even a vestige of the cultivation of rice, although a large tract of ground on this low island, which, towards the rainy season becomes partly inundated, is particularly suited to that branch of cultivation. Not even onions are grown in the place; but, fortunately, I had been informed of the circumstance beforehand, and had provided myself with a

large supply of this useful article in Gando, where the onions are excellent.

Being detained in this place longer than I wished, and feeling a little better, on the Thursday following I took a ride along the river to some distance below, where it takes a westerly bend, and I was astonished at the dry and barren aspect which this island bore, even here neither rice crops nor vegetables, as might be expected along the banks of so noble a river, being seen. The island, which during the highest level the river attains becomes almost inundated, bore the aspect of a scorched treeless prairie; and disappointed in my expectation of finding a cool shade, I returned into the town, being cheerfully saluted by all the people whom I met, the name of a módibo or learned man, which preceded me, gaining me the favour of the inhabitants. While passing along the streets, I was delighted to observe a certain degree of industry displayed in small handicrafts and in the character of the interior of the households.

Everything was very dear, but particularly butter, which was scarcely to be procured at all. All the currency of the market consists of shells; but I found the most profitable merchandise to be the black cloth for female apparel from Gando, which realized a profit of eighty per cent., while the Kanó manufactures did not find a ready sale. The black Núpe tobe, of common manufacture, bought in Gando for 3300 shells, here fetched 5000, while the black

zenne, manufactured in Gando itself, and bought there for 1050, sold here for 2000. Of course all depends, in this respect, upon the momentary state of the intercourse of this quarter with Háusa; and, at the present time almost all communication with that manufacturing province being interrupted, it is easy to explain how an article produced in Gando could realize such a per-centage in a town at so short a distance from that place — a state of things which cannot form the general rule. At any rate for the English, or Europeans in general, Say is the most important place in all this tract of the river, if they ever succeed in crossing the rapids which obstruct the river above Rabba and especially between Búsa and Yaúri, and reaching this fine open sheet of water, the great highroad of Western Central Africa. The traffic of the natives along the river is not inconsiderable, although even this branch of industry has naturally suffered greatly from the rebellious state of the adjacent provinces, more especially those of Zabérma and Déndina; so that, at present, boats did not go further down the river than Kirotáshi, an important place situated about fifteen miles lower down, on the western bank, while in the opposite direction, up the river, there was constant intercourse as far as Kindáji, with which place I made myself sufficiently acquainted on my return journey.

About noon the second day of my stay here, I paid a visit to the governor of the town. His name

is A'bú Bakr, the son of the far-famed mállem Mohammed Jébbo. I found him a tolerably cheerful person, although he is wanting in that manliness of character which makes a lasting impression, and he bore evident signs of having been born of a female slave, while his manners appeared to me to possess something approaching to a Jewish character. He, however, was delighted to see me, as I was not only the first Christian who had ever visited this place, which Mungo Park, on his ever-memorable journey, seems to have passed by entirely unnoticed, but especially as I had come at a time when the whole intercourse of the country had been interrupted, and Arabs as well as natives were all afraid of visiting it. Having heard of the great superiority of Europeans over the Arabs, both in point of intelligence and industry, he entertained an earnest wish, if it could be accomplished without detriment to the welfare of his province, that a vessel or steamer belonging to them might come and fill his poor market with luxuries; and it was with the utmost surprise that he learned that I did not trade. But, on the other hand, this led the governor to think that, in exposing myself to such great dangers, I could not but have a very mysterious object in view; and he soon became alarmed, and asked repeatedly why I did not proceed on my journey.

I had already been informed in Gando, that A'bú Bakr, two years previously, had navigated the river with a small flotilla of boats, upwards as far as Gágho

or Gógó, the ancient capital of Songhay, and collected tribute from the Fúlbe or Féllani settled near that place, but that he had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the Tawárek from penetrating any further. In consequence of this expedition on the river, made in open boats which were continually filling with water, the governor was suffering very severely from rheumatism, and was scarcely able to move.

Having so many petty chiefs before me, and seeing that this officer did not possess much power, I did not choose to give him a large present; but on my return the following year, when I still had something left, I made him a more considerable present of a bernús.

Having entered a new country, where a language was spoken (the Songhay) with which neither I nor any of my servants was acquainted, and not being able to give much time to its study, as I had to apply myself to the Fulfúlde, the language of the conquering tribe, I was extremely anxious to take into my service a native of the country, or to liberate a Songhay slave; but I did not succeed at this time, and, in consequence, felt not so much at home in my intercourse with the inhabitants of the country through which I had next to pass, as I had done formerly. For Gurma, although originally inhabited by quite a distinct race, has been conquered and peopled by the Songhay to a great extent.

CHAP. LX.

THE HILLY COUNTRY OF GURMA.

Friday, June 24th. I NOW left the Great River behind me, which formed the limit between the tolerably known regions of Central Negroland and the totally unexplored countries on the south-western side of its course; and with intense interest my thoughts were concentrated on the new region before me. However, this very day we had a sufficient specimen of what awaited us on our march during the rainy season; for we had scarcely left the low island behind us, on which the town of Say, this hotbed of fever, is situated (with its dry prairie ground almost destitute of verdure, and covered only with a few scattered specimens of the *Asclepiadeæ*), and had ascended the steep rocky bank which borders the west side of the narrow, shallow, and irregular western branch of the river, which, being encompassed by granite boulders, was at present dry, when a dark array of thunder-clouds came, as it were, marching upon us from the south-east, and we had scarcely time to prepare for the serious assault, when a terrible thunder-storm broke out, beginning

MAP OF THE ROUTES
between
SAY AND TIMBÚKTU
24 June 1853 30 July 1854
INCLUDING THE SURVEY OF THE NIGER.
TAGÁNET
BERABÍSH & KUNTA
TIMBÚKTU
DÍRMA
JIMRALLA
TAWÁREK
IREGENATEN
HÓMBORI
TONDI OR EL HAJRI
DWENTSA
DALLA
ÁRIBÍNDA
LIBTÁKO
GILGÓJI
MÓSI
GURMA
YÁGHA
GAO, GÁGHO, OR GÓGÓ
KIDAL
ÁDERÁR
ÁGHÉLÉ
ÁMMANANG
ZABERMA
SONGHAY
EMPIRE OF GANDO
SEATS OF INDEPENDENT SONGHAY
ARIBINDA OR GURMA
the North side of the River
the South side of the River

with a most fearful sand-wind, which enveloped the whole district in the darkness of night, and made progress, for a moment, quite impossible. After a while it was followed by a violent rain, which relieved the sand-storm, but lasted for nearly three hours, filling our path with water to the depth of several inches, and soaking us through to the skin, so that our march could not fail to be very uncomfortable.

It was on this account that we took up our quarters about half an hour before noon in a farming-hamlet called Sanchérgu, where the people were busily employed in sowing; the plentiful rain of to-day, which was the first of the season, having rendered the fields fit for cultivation. After some search, we obtained two huts of round shape, which were situated near a sheep-pen in front of the dwelling of the proprietor. This was a cheerful and wealthy old man, who both lodged us comfortably, and treated us hospitably. While my people were drying their clothes and luggage, I roved about a little, and observed, at a short distance west from the hamlet, a small rocky watercourse with pools of stagnant water, where the women were washing their clothes, while the slaves were busy in the labours of the field.

Saturday, June 25th.

Having rewarded our hospitable host, we started at an early hour to pursue our march, in order to reach in time the residence of Galaijo, a distinguished chief, of whom I had heard a great many flattering reports. It was a fine morning after yesterday's storm, and the country

through which our march lay was hilly, and at times presented very pleasant vales, or glens, but in general it was destitute of trees, and was only insufficiently inhabited and cultivated. The view which presented itself to us of the country before us, when, after a march of about three miles and a half, we reached the highest point, was that of an extensive wilderness, the few cultivated spots being entirely hidden in the midst of the forest. Red sandstone was apparently the chief component of this hilly country, with occasionally a black tint, received from exposure to the air, and rich in oxide of iron — in fact, of the same geological feature as the border country between Kebbi and Góber. Short herbage was springing up here and there, affording but scanty food to the cattle that were grazing hereabouts.

A steep rocky declivity brought us from the higher level, which was covered with small stones, into a deep valley. But we had soon to ascend again, traversing a district which belonged to the village of Ndobúra and bore some signs of cultivation; and a dell, which we passed a little further on, was extremely picturesque. But the country hereabouts does not in general seem to be very fertile, and, besides, the exceptional drought of the present year had destroyed a large proportion of the crops; and it was this very unproductiveness that had induced the chief to leave his former place of residence, Shirgu, which lay a little more to the east, and to found a new dwelling-place further west.

This place, which is called Champagóre, we reached at noon, but preferred taking up our quarters on a hill opposite the town, to the north, which was bounded on that side by a well-wooded dell, and overlooked the whole neighbourhood. The town itself is inclosed by a small hilly chain towards the south, at the foot of which are the wells, seven fathoms in depth. It was to have been surrounded by a clay wall; but, only provisionally, the four gates had been finished with clay, while the rest of the town was still inclosed by a stockade. The interior of the place looks very peculiar, and quite different from the style usual in Kebbi, which is chiefly owing to the remarkable character of the magazines of corn, which consist of towers or quadrangular buildings, raised

a few feet above the ground, in order to protect them from the ants. They are from ten to fifteen feet in height, and about six feet in diameter, the walls gradually sloping inwards towards the top, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. They have no opening at the bottom, but only a windowlike

aperture near the top, through which the corn is taken in and out; and on the whole they are not unlike the dove-cots of Egypt. In every courtyard there were one or more of these magazines; and they far surpassed, in their whole appearance, the dwellings themselves, which, with a few exceptions, consisted of low huts, the whole of the courtyards being only surrounded by a frail fence, made of the stalks of the native corn, while, in many yards, one half of the circumference of the huts themselves, of which there were rarely more than two, formed part of the fence.

I went in the afternoon to pay my compliments to the chief. The portal of his residence has quite a

stately appearance, as shown in the accompanying woodcut, bearing evident testimony to an attempt at

architectural decoration; but the spacious courtyard inside, which was inclosed by a low clay wall, full of rubbish and poor mean-looking huts, did not correspond with the stately character of the entrance. However, the dwelling itself, although simple, is not so mean, and, besides two spacious clay halls, includes some very airy and cool corridors built entirely of wood. Having been first received by Galaijo in one of the clay halls, I was conducted afterwards to a more private audience in one of these corridors; and here, while delivering my present*, I had a fair opportunity of surveying the exterior of this interesting man.

Mohammed Galaijo, at the time of my visit, was a man of about seventy years of age, of an extremely pleasant and almost European expression of countenance, and of middle stature. He was dressed very simply, in a light-blue tobe, with a white shawl wound round his face. Galaijo, son of Hambodéjo, son of Páte, son of Hámed Yella, succeeded his father — probably the very chief who treated Mungo Park so hospitably during his stay in Másina — in the year of the Hejra, 1231. He was then the most powerful chief of Másina, or Melle, which, since the overthrow of the Songhay empire by Múlay Hámed el Dhéhebí the emperor of Morocco, had been left to itself, and was consequently split into several petty kingdoms, the three other powerful

* The present consisted of a red cap, half a piece of muslin, and some smaller articles.

chiefs of that country being the A'rdo Másina, the A'rdo Fíttogel, and Gél Hamma Mána. But just at the time when Galaijo became ruler, the great religious movement of the Fúlbe of Góber began, under the Reformer 'Othmán, and, instigated by their example, and fired with religious zeal, a chief went forth from them, in order to spread Islám among that section of the Fúlbe which was established along the upper course of the Niger. This man was Mohammed or Hámed Lebbo, who, arriving in the country of Másina in the beginning of the year 1233 of the Hejra, at the head of a small band, formed first an alliance with Galaijo, who himself had embraced Islám; and, thus closely allied, they spread their conquests over the neighbouring country. But, after having succeeded in establishing a strong power, Mohammed Lebbo demanded homage and allegiance from his ally Galaijo, under the pretext of his having brought the ensign, or túta, of Islám from Sifáwa, the place mentioned on a former occasion, where the Reformer 'Othmán dan Fódiye resided at the time, together with his brother 'Abd Alláhi. Upon this, Galaijo, feeling little inclined to cede the dominion of the country over which his claims had been established from ancient times, entered into a violent struggle with the new comer; but after an unsuccessful resistance, carried on for three years, he was obliged to give up his former residence, Konári, and, with the rest of his partisans, to seek a new home further eastward. Here he was received with open

arms by the ruler of Gando, who was not at all pleased with the independent bearing of Lebbo and his son A'hmedu, by whom he was succeeded,—those people, being borne away by a pure reformatory view of their religion, and elated by their victory, going so far as to despatch a message to their kinsmen in Sókoto and Gando, to the effect that, if they would not reduce the number of their wives to two, and renounce their wide effeminate dress, they would pay them a hostile visit; and it is on this account that, even at the present time, there is no amicable relation whatever subsisting between the courts of Sókoto and Gando, on the one hand, and that of Hamda-Alláhi on the other.

The chief of Gando, therefore, granted Galaijo an extensive although not very fertile district in his territories, where he has now been settled for almost thirty years. Thus we find, in this region, a small court of its own, and a whole community bearing no resemblance whatever to the customs of the people around them, but having faithfully preserved the manners and institutions of their native country, Másina; for, while all the neighbouring Fúlbe are rather a slender race of men, with expressive and sharply-cut features, who make it a rule to dress in white colours, we find here quite the reverse—a set of sturdy men, with round open countenances, and long black curly hair, all uniformly clad in light-blue tobes, and almost all of them armed with muskets. I was utterly surprised at the noble bearing of several

of the courtiers, but especially that of the vizier and the commander-in-chief or lámido konno, both of whom reminded me of Europeans. The old chief, even at the present time, keeps up a continual intercourse with Timbúktu, where his eldest son was at the time studying, and which place he did not leave until some time after my arrival. Indeed the town of Konári is still said to belong to Galaijo.

Taking into consideration the peculiar character of this little colony, and the benevolent disposition and venerable character of the chief in particular, I thought it worth my while to enter into more intimate relations with him, and in consequence, the following day, presented him with a heláli bernús, which he admired very much, and was as grateful for as his reduced fortune allowed him to be; for, besides giving me a present of a heifer and a great number of fowls, he provided me also with corn, of which there was a great dearth in the place. The market was very small and insignificant, consisting merely of seven stalls, or shops, where scarcely a single sheep or ox was to be seen. The bitter species of ground-nuts, or gángala, and salt, formed almost the sole articles for sale. Butter and sour milk were plentiful.

The whole of this country belongs to Gurma—a name which, however, does not seem to owe its origin to the native inhabitants, but probably was given to it by the Songhay, who, while still settled on the north side of the river, applied this term to the region on the opposite or southern side, identical with the

name Ari-bínda. The country, at least the northern portions of it, had gradually been conquered and colonised by the Songhay, who, as we shall see on my home journey, have preserved in this quarter a portion of their national strength and independence, while in the recent rising of the Fúlbe the chief places along the high-road had been occupied by the latter; but after the first impulse of the religious movement had passed by, the settlements of this conquering race had greatly decayed, so that the communication along this important highroad from the west, at the period of my journey, was almost entirely interrupted, nay, the native independent chief of Bójjo had totally destroyed the considerable settlement of Martebógo which commanded the road; for, from the very beginning the conquerors had only succeeded in establishing themselves along the high-road, leaving the independence of the chiefs in the interior almost undisturbed. The most powerful of these native chiefs of Gurma are those of Belánga, Bótu, Bosúgu, Bójjo, Machakwáli, Nándau, and Mayánga.* Of these the chief of Belánga seems to be at present the most powerful, while next to him ranks that of Bójjo; but in former times Bótu seems to have been the chief place in the country, which is the reason why it is still called by the Háusa people "fáda-n-Gurma," "the palace or royal residence of Gurma." The name

* For a list of the other places in Gurma, and some itineraries establishing their position, as well as the more important places in Mósi, see Appendix V.

Gurma however, as I have said, seems not to be the indigenous name either of the country or of the people, while the language of the natives bears a certain affinity to that of the neighbouring tribes, the Mósi or Móre, and Tombo.

However, the original inhabitants of Gurma are not the only enemies of the Fúlbe, but, besides the former, there are also the Songhay, who have emigrated into the country since the time of their predominance along the Niger; and some of these communities are the most inveterate enemies of the present conquerors, especially the inhabitants of Lárba, or Láraba, a place which we had to pass on our further march. Besides the latter place, the most important settlements of the Songhay in this district are said to be the following: — Téra (the residence of Hamma-Kása), Darghol, Garmúwa, Fámbita, close to the river; and not far from it, to the west, Garú (probably identical with the neighbouring town of Sínder of that name), Kasáni, Kókoro, and Fóni.* We shall come into contact with some of these Songhay settlements on our return journey along the Niger, and I shall then say more about them.

It was on account of the Lárba that I was induced to remain a day longer at Champagóre than had been originally my intention, the chief begging me most urgently to wait till some other people who were

* As smaller places of the Songhay in this district, the following were mentioned to me: Fonekówa, Díbbilo, Léde, Dúmba, and Bási.

going to Yágha might join me; and while staying here, we were so fortunate as to have a tolerable shower of rain, which greatly refreshed this parched country and again raised the hopes of the inhabitants. The whole depression between the hill on which we were encamped and the town became filled with water; and I was greatly delighted at the arrival of the proprietor of the farm where we had established ourselves, an energetic weather-beaten Púllo, who came to inspect the labours of the fields, and who was not a little surprised at finding us quietly established in his homely dwelling.

Tuesday, June 28th.

Our road lay through a hilly country, well wooded and intersected by a number of small watercourses; and in some favoured localities a good crop of corn was seen standing in the fields. Cattle also seemed not to be wanting, which accounted for the circumstance of the residence of Galaijo being so well provided with milk. We also met a great number of women on their way to the market of Champagóre with their supplies of sour milk. But besides the small dry watercourses just mentioned, we had also to cross a very rapid torrent, which is called Górebi, and is said to come from the direction of Kulféla, a very important market-place in the interior of Mósi, and which caused us considerable delay. Before we entered Champaláwel, also, where we took up our quarters half an hour before noon, we had to cross a considerable sheet of water, three feet and a half in depth and about thirty yards

broad, about the relation of which to the neighbouring watercourses I am not quite certain.

Champaláwel is the residence of the governor of the Tórobe; but it was at that time in the utmost state of decay and almost deserted, the slight remains of the ramparts being almost hidden in a dense forest; for since the decease of Moàzu (a celebrated chieftain mentioned also in other accounts), who died about twenty years ago, the power of the Fúlbe in this place has greatly declined. The present governor, a younger brother of that energetic chieftain, himself tolerably advanced in years, proved to be a very illiberal and unamiable man, and he would not even assign me quarters on my arrival; so that I had the greatest trouble in taking possession of a miserable little hut on my own account, while good shelter was very essential, as a great quantity of rain fell in the afternoon. However, all was changed when, towards evening, a cousin of the present governor, of the name of 'Othmán, arrived, and I then received a present of two sheep. I also had the great and unexpected pleasure of meeting here an Arab, of the name of Mohammed el Wákhshi, a near relative of my friend Bú-Bakr el Wákhshi, the Ghadámsi merchant whom I have mentioned repeatedly in the preceding part of my narrative. This man was then on his return from Gonja, the northern tributary province of Asanti, — the Gúro caravan having been induced, by the state of the country, to abandon its direct road from Yendi to Komba on the

Niger, in favour of a northerly and very circuitous road by way of Yágha.* But I was disappointed in the hope of corresponding with Europe by means of this man. The letter which I gave to him, and which I had already written in Say, never reached its destination, for El Wákhshi succumbed to disease in crossing the province of Núpe in the height of the rainy season, before reaching Kanó.

Wednesday, June 29th.

On leaving this desolate residence of the chief of the Tórobe, reduced to an entangled thicket, we passed the encampment, or zango, of the Gúro caravan, which, as is generally the case, consisted of small round huts, erected for the occasion with branches and rank grass. The caravan consisted of about one hundred individuals, with a couple of hundred of asses, which form the usual beasts of burden of these native travellers. Scarcely a mile beyond the town we had again to cross a river which, bordered

* The principal stations of this interesting route, at a very slow rate, are the following, starting from Yendi :—

1 day.	Kaña, still on the great high-road to Komba.
5 days.	Natóngo, a village inhabited by Dagómba.
5 „	Wólawóla, a large place inhabited partly by pagans, partly by Mohammedans, and dependent on Yendi.
10 „	Béri, a large place belonging to Mósi.
3 „	Another Mósi place, the residence of a powerful officer of the chief of Wóghodoghó, to whom these native travellers give the title of Yeríma.
1 day.	Sálugu, a market-place, residence of a governor.
1 „	Belússa, a large place of Mósi, to be mentioned also in other itineraries.
7 days.	Libtúgu, a small Gurma village.
1 day.	Yágha.

by the richest vegetation, and by abundance of rank grass, runs at this spot from S.E. to N.W., with a depth of about three feet, and at times, when a great deal of rain has fallen, forming a far more considerable volume of water.

The country which we then entered was hilly, tolerably well cultivated, and thickly inhabited. It was adorned here and there with the baobab tree, and a fine leafy tree called here "harúna." But we made only a short march, being induced, on account of the danger of the road before us, to take up our quarters in a farming-village, situated in a very rich tract of country, behind a flat-topped cone, at the distance of a little more than four miles from Champaláwel. Notwithstanding the fertility of the district, no corn was to be obtained here at present, the last year's harvest having failed entirely, so that the people were obliged to supply their own wants at Bosebángo. This scarcity is increased generally in districts where only one species of corn is grown, all the produce here being reduced to millet; while where various grains are raised, which ripen at different seasons, even in these countries, dearth cannot prevail to such an extent and for so long a time. All the inhabitants, including even the head man, belonged to the native Gurma race. All the cattle-breeding is in the hands of the Fúlbe, who regard "the cow as the most useful animal in creation,"—"negge ngombúri déya fó náfa;" and, there being no such people in the neighbourhood, no milk was to be

obtained. The dwelling where I was lodged, with its numerous compartments and courtyards, presented quite a labyrinth of itself. Three servants of Galaijo, all armed with muskets, had attached themselves to my troop; and I supplied each of them here with ball cartridges, in case of any attack on the road.

We had a long day's march before us, through the unsafe wilderness which separates the reduced dominion of the chief of the Tórobe from the territory of Yágha. It was a fine morning, and tolerably clear. Corn-fields now and then interrupted the dense growth of talha trees and prickly underwood, while occasionally a baobab or a tamarind tree gave greater variety to the scenery. About four miles and a half from our starting-point we passed, on the right of the path, some peculiarly constructed smelting-furnaces, about six feet high and a foot and a half in diameter at the base. The proceeding is very simple and unsophisticated. On the ironstone is placed a large quantity of wood-ashes, till the metal begins to melt, and is then, by means of three channels at the bottom of the furnace, received in a basin.

Thursday, June 30th.

Close behind these smelting-furnaces, which happened to be the first I had seen in Negroland, though there are plenty of them in some districts, we passed the site of a former encampment, or zango, of native

traders, or fatáki, in a spot clothed with the finest *Poa*, and adorned with large wide-spreading trees. Ascending then a little, we passed the village of Bangapélle on our left, situated at the eastern foot of an eminence, and then kept along the northern base of the latter, while on our right a dense forest spread out, broken by a rocky ridge. The whole wilderness through which our way led was in general very dry, and did not possess any fresh pasture-grounds, although about two miles beyond Bangapélle we passed a considerable pond of water, with numerous traces of the elephant; but gradually the country became more rocky, granite prevailing. We encamped, at length, on the site of a former hamlet, called Kófe, situated on a rising rocky ground, close to a depression, with water, and clothed with fine pasture interspersed with flowers, in whose sweet blossom numerous butterflies were indulging. Here again the footprints of the elephant were extremely numerous; but by far more interesting, and of much higher importance to me, were the traces of the rhinoceros, an animal which at present seems to be wanting entirely in the regions between the Niger on the west and the Shárí towards the east. Our rest at this place was greatly disturbed; for after an alarm in the evening, which, fortunately for us, proved to be false, we were kept awake the whole night by a terrible thunder-storm, which broke out with great violence, and rendered our situation in the midst of a low swampy ground very uncomfortable indeed.

In consequence of the storm, we started rather late. Close behind our encampment we had to cross a very swampy ground, which we might have passed more easily the day before. We were therefore greatly cheered when the boggy ground was succeeded by sandy soil, which became intersected by several small watercourses, affording a channel to the watery element; but after a march of about six miles, it was again succeeded by a considerable pond, which we had to avoid by a long circuitous road. Here, also, the ground was marked by numerous footprints of the elephant, while monkey-bread or baobab trees were in great abundance. Friday, July 1st.

In the afternoon, the whole aspect of the country changed, the surface becoming rugged, and broken by small rocky ridges; and here the danger increased, on account of the vicinity of the town of Lárba, the inhabitants of which, as I have mentioned before, are the inveterate enemies of the Fúlbe. Only a few days before, they had robbed and murdered some people of the governor of the Tórobe. But well-armed as we were, all the people round about being aware that an attack upon us would not be an easy affair, we proceeded without any accident; and having twice made a considerable descent, we reached, a little after three o'clock, the village of Bosebángo, which is surrounded by a strong stockade. It is inhabited by the Karábe, who, although kinsmen of the inhabitants of Lárba, fear and respect in some degree the authority of the Fúlbe: however, we soon convinced

ourselves that the character of their allegiance is very precarious. The mayor of the village, being a man of advanced age, dressed in a ragged shirt, lodged me in his own quarters, which seemed to contain a very remarkable household, the most interesting objects being his two wives, very stout females, richly ornamented with copper rings on their arms and legs, and with strings of beads round their necks, but having, besides, another ornament, at which I was more surprised, viz. a thin plate of tin in the under lip, like that worn by the Marghí; but I was astonished at not finding the nose-ring, which, from what I had heard, I had concluded that all the Songhay were in the habit of wearing. Altogether, these fashionably dressed women, with their dirty old partner, would have formed a highly interesting subject for illustrating the customs of these people.

Having rested awhile, for I felt greatly exhausted after my sickly state in Say, I roved a little about the place (which lies at the foot of a well-wooded eminence), and collected several specimens of minerals, which, in the course of my journey, were thrown away by my people. Gneiss and mica slate were predominant, and beautiful varieties of granite occasionally appeared.

Having observed from this point that the river Sírba runs only at a short distance from the place, we endeavoured in the evening to arrange with the inhabitants to assist us in crossing this sheet of water, where there are no boats. While speaking with the

natives about this river, I was surprised to hear from them that they consider the water unwholesome, and more particularly so for horses, while even the herbage which grows close to the border is regarded as extremely deleterious to the cattle; but the people themselves supply their own wants entirely from the river. They do not carry the water in single pitchers on their heads, which is the general custom in Negroland, but use a simple pair of yokes, from which a couple of nets are suspended, in each of which a pitcher is carried, in much the same way as in Germany.

The chief treated my party very hospitably. While in the neighbourhood of Bangapélle there seemed to be great scarcity of corn, here it appeared to be in abundance. We spent our evening comfortably, although it was necessary to take great care of the horses, as a number of horse-stealers were hovering about the place.

Saturday, July 2nd.

A few hundred yards beyond the village we came to the river Sírba, which here forms a bend from N.W. to N.E., between banks about twenty feet high, and caused us not a little anxiety, as it was nearly seventy yards wide, and not less than twelve feet in depth in the middle. We had, moreover, to cross it merely on bundles of reeds, which we had to tie together ourselves. At length, after much controversy, we succeeded in arranging with the natives, for 2000 shells, to assist us in crossing. While the large bundles which were to constitute our frail ferry were being tied together, the head man

of the village and a great number of the natives were sitting on the high banks of the river, which form a sort of amphitheatre, in order to enjoy the spectacle. There was something very peculiar about the inhabitants of this place. The men were formed into interesting groups, with features full of expression, but approaching somewhat to effeminacy, their hair being plaited in long tresses, which hung down over their cheeks, and in some cases reached their shoulders. Their dress consisted of short blue shirts, and long wide trowsers of the same colour. Almost all of them had small pipes in their mouths, which they smoked incessantly. The women were of rather short stature, and of not very symmetrical forms, with naked legs and breasts. Their necks and ears were richly ornamented with strings of beads; but they also were destitute of the nose-ring, which I had supposed common to this tribe.

The men were expert swimmers, and carried the small articles across the river in large calabashes; but we ourselves and the heavier luggage had to cross on the rafts of reeds, and in about two hours we succeeded in getting safely over the water with our whole troop. A little after twelve o'clock we left the opposite bank, being joined by two horsemen of the Sýllebáwa, who at no great distance from this spot have a large settlement called Dútuwel; but we had great difficulty in making our way through the swampy plain, intersected by several small watercourses, which descended in deep ravines from a small

rocky chain towards the north. After a march of about eight miles, we pitched our tents a little beyond the site of a former encampment of the native traders, where the ground was tolerably free from trees; and I enjoyed our resting-place extremely, for, having been exposed to the sun during the heat of the day, I felt greatly fatigued.

Sunday, July 3rd.

We continued our march through the forest, which here had a very fresh appearance, and soon passed a cone on our right, on the offshoots of which, as would appear from the quantities of stones scattered about, a hamlet appears to have been situated in former times. Besides gneiss, large pieces of a fine species of marble were lying about in every direction. Rank grass, now and then adorned with blue *Cruciferæ*, filled up the intervals between the dense growth of trees (but there were none of large size, and less of the bush called "tsáda" than I had seen the previous day), besides a few isolated monkey-bread trees. I observed, also, that the people were here digging up the same root which I had noticed on my journey to A'damáwa. The footprints of the elephant and the buffalo were very numerous; and a little further on we fell in with a large herd of the latter species indulging in the luxuriant herbage of the pasture-grounds, which here grows without any use to man.

Having then gone round a considerable pond of water in the midst of the forest, we entered upon more undulating ground adorned with larger trees,

where, besides the monkey-bread tree, the dorówa was predominant; and a little beyond an eminence, at the foot of which the village of Bundóre had been situated in former times, we reached the modern village of that name, which is surrounded with a stockade. A dyeing-place, containing from eight to ten pits, besides a large basin for making up the mixture, presented some signs of industry and civilisation; at a short distance from our quarters, also, a blacksmith was living. This village belongs to the territory of Yágha, and the huts presented a peculiar style of architecture, being built almost entirely of stalks and matting. The latter, which constitutes the walls, is plastered with clay, and reaches an altitude of nine feet. The roof is not formed of slender boughs and branches, but of large poles.

Not being able to obtain any corn that evening, I was obliged to stay here the following day. No millet is cultivated in this place, all the corn consisting of sorghum. The people would not take anything but shells, and refused cotton strips. Sixty of the former bought a full measure of a common drinking-bowl, or "gerra," of corn; and for 1500 shells we procured a lean sheep.

Tuesday, July 5th. The country which we traversed on leaving Bundóre, was well adorned with trees, especially the tamarind, and bore evident signs of extensive cultivation, even indigo and cotton being observed by the side of a pond; but the forest soon became so dense, that our progress was very diffi-

cult, and the àmúda, a *Liliacea* which I have mentioned before, was so plentiful in some places, that it formed, as it were, a rich carpet, exhibiting quite an unwonted and cheerful aspect, for in general this quarter of Africa is rather poor in flowers. We had just passed a very dense jungle of tall reed-grass interspersed with blue and yellow flowers, when a thunder-storm which had hovered over us all the morning broke out, and soon changed the whole forest into one mighty sheet of water, when we had to cross three powerful torrents, all running towards the south-east, and probably discharging themselves into the Sirba.

Completely drenched, and almost swamped by the water, we reached the village of Denga, but had the greatest difficulty in entering it, on account of the dense forest with which it was surrounded. At length we succeeded in penetrating this mass of thorny bushes, and, having obtained quarters, were able to dry our clothes; but the damp was excessive, and the second-best of my servants, the young Shúwa lad 'Abd Alláhi, was this very day attacked by the Guinea worm, which laid him up during the whole of the remainder of my journey, and at times rendered him the most disagreeable person in the world.

The hut which was assigned to myself was well built; but it was so completely obstructed by numbers of corn jars of clay, that scarcely any room was left for my own use. Our diet, however, was not so bad, and besides sour milk, which constitutes one of the

most wholesome articles of food for a European traveller in these regions during the rainy season, we obtained also a couple of fowls.

Wednesday, July 6th. Our road, on leaving Denga, led through underwood, which was gradually succeeded by dense forest, the view being bounded towards the right by heights. Among the trees of the forest, there was soon conspicuous that large beautiful tree, a species of acacia, which the inhabitants of Sháwi and Mákari call korgam, and from which they build most of their boats, while a kind of vegetable butter is made from its core. It grew here to an altitude of certainly not less than eighty feet, with a wide-spreading crown, but not very dense foliage. It is here called "mur," at least by the Arabs; its native Songhay name I did not learn till some time subsequently.

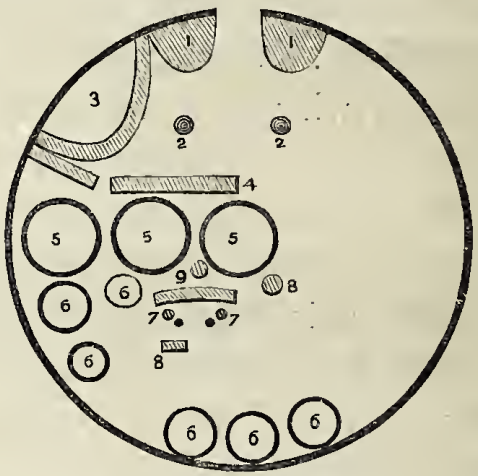
Amongst the underwood, the most distinguished was the bush here called "kírche," with its small, white, edible fruit, which is extremely pleasant when taken in small quantities, but, from its very sweet taste, soon becomes unpalatable; there was, besides, the "mekhét," as it is called by the Arabs, the fruit of which is much liked by the natives, but it was not yet ripe. The wilderness was interrupted by a village of considerable size, called Gongúngo, surrounded by a living fence of bushes, and exhibiting a good deal of cultivation, principally *Zea Maïs*, while a single dúm palm attracted our attention. Here the sun broke through the clouds, spreading life over, and enhancing the cheerful aspect of, the landscape.

Forest again succeeded, intersected by a small rivulet which had inundated the district to some extent; and about two miles beyond Gòngúngo we had to cross swampy meadow grounds, where my Háusa Púllo, a native of Zabérma, whom I had taken into my service in Champagóre, called my attention to a plant named here "yángara-bubíki," which is said to keep flies from open wounds, especially from those of the camel; it probably contains a sort of slight poison. Having crossed a short tract of rugged ground, where granite, gneiss, and sandstone protruded through the surface, we entered a more populous district, with several villages right and left, but presenting great difficulties to the passage of the camels, as it consisted of red clay, soaked with water, which formed several large ponds, and, being recently traversed by a numerous herd of cattle, was extremely muddy.

Thus leaving two villages on one side, we reached, a little before noon, the clay wall of the town of Sebba, which, though the residence of the lord of Yágha, has nothing in its appearance to indicate the capital of even a small province. The governor was sitting in front of his house, close to the mosque, in the midst of a large congregation of people, and was reading and interpreting to them some passages from the Kurán. Having sent two of my servants in advance, I soon obtained quarters, and was lodged in an excellent hut, which I shall here describe.

The hut measured about twenty feet in diameter,

the walls being ten feet high to the beginning of the roof, but consisting merely of matting, which was coated with clay. The roof was supported by a pole in the middle. The hut was full of larger or smaller vessels of clay, and was apparently intended for a considerable household. The woodcut below will give a full idea of the comfort which an African household in this region possesses.



1. Jodórde, a clay seat of semicircular shape, raised about a foot, on each side of the door.
2. Lýggere, two round shallow holes in the floor, measuring about eight inches in diameter, to place the dishes during dinner, in order to prevent them from being upset.
3. Kosóndi, a half-oval-shaped place, surrounded by a slight clay rampart, about two and a half feet high, for containing luggage, &c.
4. Hurgal, a sort of clay bank, about six feet in length, and about a foot in height, and rather narrow.
5. Three "benbel," or large-sized clay jars, for containing corn.
6. Six smaller "benbel," called "mabbirgel benbel."
7. Hobinírde, the cooking-place, consisting of four stones, or rather clay mounds, protected against any gust of wind by a slight wall towards the side of the door, while its privacy is already sufficiently guaranteed by the large clay jars.
8. Two movable seats, or jodórde, one of round, the other of an oblong shape, both made of wood.
9. Kekimákka, or middle pole, for supporting the roof of the hut.

Besides the immovable articles, if we exclude the two smaller seats of wood which were movable, only very few utensils had been left in the hut by the

industrious landlady, the couch and even the dishes having been taken away. But suspended from the roof was the "pílgure," or basket for smaller luggage, which contained at the time, besides the komcha, the pittórke, or small stick for weaving, and the fabáru, a small leather portfolio for writing. The accompanying view, though it exhibits the hut rather in an inverted manner, will give the reader a fair idea of its character.

The clay being excellently polished, and the hut of recent construction, left a very pleasant impression; but, as is so often the case in human life, all this finery covered nothing but misery, and I discovered the next day, to my utter amazement, that this beautiful hut was one entire nest of ants, which had in one day made great havoc with the whole of my luggage.

In the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the governor, who is not without power, so that I thought it better to sacrifice to him a bernús of inferior quality, besides some smaller articles. He was a fine-grown man, with large features, which at once indicated his origin from the black stock of the Fúlbe or the Tórobe. Sitting at the door of his palace, he received me kindly, and promised me that I should have no difficulty in my further progress. Considering the scarcity of provisions, he treated me hospitably on the whole, sending me the next day a young heifer, besides a great many dishes of prepared food.

The name of the principality is Yágha *, dating from the time which preceded the conquest of the Fúlbe; but the governor's private name is Sájo ben Ibrahíina.

Notwithstanding the power of the ruler, the place is in a miserable condition, and resembles rather a wilderness than a town; but it is extremely picturesque, having a thick covert of beautiful trees nourished by a large sheet of water. The place contains scarcely 200 huts, and nothing like a market is to be found. The difficulty of our obtaining supplies was the greater, as, contrary to our expectation and the information we had received, nothing but shells had currency in the place; and it was with a

* The places belonging to the province of Yágha are the following: Denga, Gongúngo, Gesángu, Sínsirga, Nótu, Dóri (surnamed Dembíni, in order to distinguish it from Dóri or Dóre in Libtáko), Sebba, Namantúgu, Kankanfógu, Hóga, Humóre, Kábo.

great deal of trouble that, by means of the cotton strips with which we had provided ourselves, we obtained a small supply of butter and corn, four drá being reckoned here the same as in Gando, while in the town of Say there was thirty per cent profit upon the cotton strips. The most abundant article I found here was milk, which was the best I had ever yet tasted in Negroland; and it gave me a fair but rather exaggerated idea of what I might expect to find amongst the Fúlbe further west. We also bought a small quantity of corn from the women, in exchange for some looking-glasses and cloves. All the corn here consists of sorghum; and seventy shells, at the time, would just buy sufficient corn for a horse for one day, which is a very high price indeed for Negroland.

Notwithstanding the poor character of the place, I was obliged to stay here two whole days, exclusive of the day of my arrival, in order to give the camels some rest, as they were suffering greatly from the effects of the rainy season, and on account of the holiday of the "fotr," which fell on the 8th. If I had known the character of the province of Libtáko better, I should have deemed it prudent to make even a longer stay here: and I would advise any future traveller to do so, taking care, however, to have a sufficient supply of shells with him, which will enable him to make himself quite comfortable in Yágha.

Music having announced the arrival of the important

and joyful day, soon after midnight, almost the whole of the men went out in the morning in order to say their prayers at about a mile's distance from the town. All the Fúlbe were dressed in snow-white shirts, as a symbol of the purity of their creed; but some of them wore dark-blue trousers. There were about forty horses with the party, which probably was all that the townspeople could muster.

Having had to sustain here a slight religious attack from the kádhi, who wanted to represent me as a sorcerer, I thought it prudent to make a small present to each of the holiday people, as a kind of séddega, or alms. The holiday also disturbed me in compiling a small vocabulary of the Gurma language, called by the Fúlbe Gurman-kóbe, which I had begun, but was obliged to leave unfinished.

CHAP. LXI.

PROVINCE OF LIBTÁKO.—SOUTH-EASTERN LIMIT OF THE RANGE OF THE COMMERCE OF TIMBÚKTU.

We left Sebba the capital of the wilderness—bírni-n-dáji, as I called it,—passing through a district where forest and cultivated ground alternated. The slaves were busy in the fields rooting up the weeds from among the crops; but, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a very considerable water, which is here called Yáli, and about whose course I am not able to give distinct information. It is said to come from Mósi, and to join the river Sirba not far from Bosebángo; but the latter statement is incredible. The water being not less than four feet and a half in depth, with a breadth of at least four hundred yards, most of our luggage became wetted. Saturday, July 9th.

The country then assumed a more rocky appearance — mica slate, granite, and gneiss alternating, the granite sometimes appearing in large boulders. The vegetation also assumed here a more varied aspect, besides tamarind trees, mádachi and kadé predomi-

nating; and altogether the forest exhibited a fresh and pleasant character, especially as the sun had at length broken through the clouds which had obscured its rays during the first part of the day. After a march altogether of about eleven miles, we reached the village of Namantúgu, which still belongs to the province of Yágha, the mayor of which we had met a short time before, on the road, as he was going to look after his cattle.

The village is of some importance, and consists of several groups which cover an extensive tract of ground, lying straggling about in the fields; but the huts themselves are very narrow, and the one which was assigned to myself was so small that there was scarcely room to breathe. Nothing is more unhealthy for a European than these abodes of stench and filth; but during the rainy season he is often obliged to seek shelter in these dirty dwellings, especially if he has valuable property in his possession.

Namantúgu, which seems to have been of considerable importance in the history of the Songhay empire*, was a rather eventful place for my whole subsequent proceedings, as I here met an Arab from the west, in whose company I was safely to enter the town of Timbúktu. He called himself Sheikho, though this was not originally his proper name; and, in order not to cause any mistake, I will in future call him (from his father and the name of his birthplace) Weled A'mmer Waláti. He was

* See the Chronological Tables at the end of this volume.

certainly a very remarkable fellow; and I shall have frequent occasion, in the further course of my journey, to advert to his doings. Being originally a native of Waláta, he had emigrated to Timbúktu, whence he had roved about a great deal among the Tawárek as well as among the Fúlbe, and was at present on his way from Belánga, the residence of one of the principal chiefs of Gurma. He had a good quantity of the broad gábagá, or cotton strips, of Mósi with him, which form the staple currency in the whole tract of country from Libtáko to Timbúktu, ten drà being reckoned equal to one hundred shells. Besides Arabic, he spoke Fulfúlde, Songhay, Mósi, and Bámbara fluently, and Temáshight, or the language of the Tawárek, almost as well, and altogether was one of the cleverest men whom I met on my journey, in spite of the trouble he caused me and the tricks he played me. He was a handsome man, of middle size and of rather slender growth, and with very fine expressive features. His dress consisted of a long black gown, with a black shawl wound round his head; and his whole appearance, as he was moving along at a solemn thoughtful pace, frequently reminded me of the servants of the Inquisition. However, his real character at the time of our first meeting was, of course, unknown to me, and I was delighted at having found such a man, as he held out to me the fairest prospects of reaching Timbúktu. But although I convinced myself that this man would be of great service to me, yet I did not make a bargain with him

immediately, but we agreed that I should arrange with him in Dóre, when he would be able to settle his own business.

The village of Namantúgu is almost exclusively inhabited by Fúlbe, all of whom were clad in the purest white, even the little children wearing round their heads a large turban of white cotton strips; but this was, perhaps, in consequence of their festival having been held the previous day. A great deal of rain had fallen hereabouts; and cotton appeared to be cultivated to a considerable extent.

Sunday, July 10th. Our road, on leaving Namantúgu, led through a deep clayey soil covered with rank vegetation, which was only now and then interrupted by a little cultivation. A wealthy family of Fúlbe, father, mother, son, and daughter, all mounted on horseback, and accompanied by servants and by a numerous herd of cattle, were pursuing the same path; and their company was rather agreeable to us, as, after a march of about five miles, we had to cross a large sheet of water in the midst of the forest, through which they showed us the way. It is delightful for a traveller to meet with these nomadic settlers, after the disgust he has felt at the degraded character of their countrymen in Wurno. We had here entered a region full of water, the soil presenting very little inclination to afford it the means of flowing off. Further on also, where we passed the site of a former dwelling-place, we had to cross several channels of running water, and encamped at length, after a march

of about seventeen miles, in the midst of the forest, close beyond another watercourse; for we were not aware that about two miles further on there was a far more favourable place for encamping, viz. the site of the former town of Tumpénga.

The site of this place we passed early the next morning. Before the time of the rising of the Jihádi, the town had been inhabited by Fúlbe and pagans indiscriminately, when, owing to the religious ferment caused by that reformer, a bloody feud broke out between the Mohammedan and pagan inhabitants. The latter were vanquished, and fled to Nába, the powerful Gurma domain at some distance towards the south, while the former founded the town of Dóre. Two dyeing-places bore testimony to the fact that a certain degree of industry had formerly prevailed in this place, which, like so many other human abodes in Christian and Mohammedan countries, has been reduced to desolation in consequence of religious disputes.

Beyond this place granite protruded in large boulders, while monkey-bread trees were in great abundance; but gradually the country became more open, the trees being scanty and the soil hard and barren. This did not, however, last long, and further on we had to cross a considerable sheet of water surrounded by fine pasture-grounds; then followed another very barren and open tract, till, after a march of almost twenty miles, we reached the village of Kória, situated beyond a broad sandy watercourse at present dry. The scarcity of herbage was here so

great that I was obliged to send two of my people back to a considerable distance in order to procure a little grass for the horses. The head man of the village received us very inhospitably, refusing us quarters in such a peremptory manner, that it was only by force I could procure an open yard where to pitch my tent. However, he soon changed his behaviour entirely. It so happened that a thunder-storm, with the blackest clouds, which in the opinion of every one portended a heavy fall of rain, twice passed over our heads without bringing these famished people a single drop; whereupon all of them assured the inhospitable mayor that it was a divine punishment for his niggardly and unrighteous conduct towards me. Frightened, therefore, by such signs, he carried his hospitality so far as even to make me a present of a young heifer. But the first advances towards a friendly intercourse were made by an old woman, the mistress of the piece of ground where we had encamped,—she bringing me, as a token of good-will, a dish of well-cooked paste, which probably constituted her whole supper.

Considering the parched character of the whole neighbourhood, I was surprised to find a few dúm palms at the border of the channel, while the whole neighbourhood was almost destitute of trees.

Tuesday, July 12th. A short march of a little less than six miles, in company with the son of the old governor, brought us from here to Dóre. The country through which we passed bore at the time the character of

extreme drought and barrenness; and numerous flocks of gazelles (quite an unusual aspect to me in the populous districts of Negroland through which I had passed) were roving about over this immense plain, which was scarcely broken by a single tree, with the exception of a few stunted monkey-bread trees. In the distance, towards the south, two small eminences bounded the horizon.

The remnant of a large herd of cattle, in a most emaciated condition, was scattered in the barren fields, licking the soil, which is here full of natron. The seed had already been sown, but the crops had scarcely started forth from the ground, and were languishing for want of rain. Huts were occasionally seen for the first mile or two, but being exposed to the full force of the sun, without affording the least shade, they presented rather a dismal aspect. But this immense plain, which at the present season was only very slightly broken, about halfway, by a shallow strip of green bordered by projecting granite boulders, supplies abundant food for a fine breed of horses, for which Libtáko is remarkable.

Dóre is the chief place of the province of Libtáko; but its appearance caused us the utmost disappointment, presenting, as it did, unmistakable signs of misery and decay, the wall by which it had been formerly surrounded being nothing but a disgusting heap of rubbish, while the whole place exhibited the utmost neglect. But, through the kind interference of a messenger of Galaijo, who was most opportunely

here at the time, I was lodged in an excellent and spacious hut, measuring probably not less than thirty-five feet in diameter, and presenting a remarkable contrast to the little dirty nook which formed my quarters in Namantúgu. The place is said to abound in thieves, which is not astonishing, as it is not only the rendezvous for all the natives from the different tribes which dwell in the immediate neighbourhood, but even several Bórnu people have settled here since the inroad of Wáday.

Dóre is principally a great place of resort for the Arabs of A'zawád, the district to the north of Timbúktu, who bring to this market the salt of Taödénni in great quantities, and occasionally even reside here for a long time; but they generally come direct from A'zawád without touching at Timbúktu, proceeding by way of Gágho (the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and once the great gold-market of the western part of Negroland), or, still more direct, by Tósaye, the point where the river greatly contracts, before it changes from an easterly to a south-easterly course. Some of them are very wealthy people,—one individual having as many as forty camels with him. Among other important information, I received from them the news that Hámed Weled Habíb, the sheikh of A'rawán, who, from the account of Caillié*, is generally regarded in Europe as the chief murderer of Major Laing, had died a short time before, after a reign of nearly forty years; and I regarded this piece

* Caillié, "Travels to Timbuctoo," vol. ii. p. 82. (Engl. version.)

of news as a very auspicious omen for the success of my undertaking.

These Arabs left on the 17th,—a circumstance not quite indifferent to me, as I was led to expect that they might carry the news of my arrival, not only into the heart of the desert, but also to Timbúktu, and thus augment the difficulties of my journey. There were, however, also a good many individuals who wanted to pass themselves off for Arabs without having any claim to such a descent. Besides the Arabs, the Wángaráwa, or Eastern Mandingoes, especially from Miniána and Wássulo, the inhabitants of Mósi, and the people of Gåó, Gágho, or Gógó, frequent this market-place in considerable numbers; and it is principally the Wángaráwa who impart to this town its importance, supplying it with a small quantity of white Kóla nuts, for which the consumption here seems not to be very great, besides woda (shells), or "chéde," as the Fúlbe call them, which are evidently imported from the coast of Sierra Leone, or, more probably, from the river Nuñez*, but they were entirely wanting at the time. The people of Mósi bring chiefly their fine donkeys, which are greatly sought after; and a numerous body of people of the sheikh A'lhmedu, of Hamda-Alláhi, had

* I may as well state in this place, that, both in Dóre and in Timbúktu, bargains are made according to the full hundred, or the míye sala-míye, while in all the markets of Bámbara a fictitious hundred, the míye ajemíye, being in reality eighty, forms the standard.

left a few days before with a number of asses which they had bought here. Besides asses, the people of Mósi supply this market with gábagá, or "tári," as the Arabs near Timbúktu call them, cotton being extremely cheap in their country, so that in the great market-places of that country, especially in Kulféla, an indigo-coloured shirt is not worth more than from 700 to 800 shells.

The inhabitants of the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and the people thereabouts, on the banks of the Niger, bring chiefly butter and corn to market; and it was highly interesting to me to be here brought into direct communication with that place, which, although once the most celebrated and renowned in all Negroland, yet has become so completely obliterated, that its geographical position has given rise to the most contrary opinions among the learned geographers of our age.

Shells formed the currency of the market, and these it was very difficult to obtain. In order to supply my wants I was obliged to sell my túrkedís for 2500 to 3000 shells each, while in the town of Say they had realised 4000, and, as I afterwards found, fetched the same price in Timbúktu. Sometimes I was not able to dispose either of my túrkedís or my tobes, even at the lowest price; while others, that I had at length succeeded in selling, were returned to me as defective. I was at considerable expense for my large household, my three horses alone (ʿAlí providing for the other two) costing me every

day 400 shells for the corn with which I was forced to feed them exclusively.

Almost all the corn which is brought into the market consists of Negro millet, or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, while Indian millet, or sorghum, is found only in very small quantities; and I was repeatedly prevented from buying, because I was not possessed of what the people wanted. Thus when, on the 13th, a caravan of Tawárek serfs, with oxen, arrived bringing corn from Gógó, they refused to accept anything I could offer them, viz. shirts, zenne, and gábagá; and the day before I started there was no corn at all to be got, as no Tárki had arrived. Not the smallest particle of rice was to be obtained; and I could not but deem myself fortunate in being able to procure a small supply of vegetable paste of dodówa, which made my food of millet a little more endurable. This formed my usual supper. In the morning I usually breakfasted on tíggera, or cold paste, with sour milk; the latter being excellent and very cheap, and almost the only article which was to be found in abundance.

But, besides the great difficulty I had in supplying my wants during my residence in the place, I had still more trouble in obtaining the currency of the country through which I had to pass on my journey to Timbúktu; this is the "faráwel," or "feruwál," as it is called by the Arabs, a long narrow strip of cotton cloth sewn together from a number of pieces, and supposed to measure thirty-two drá, though in reality

the measure does not exceed thirty. The price of each feruwál is generally three hundred shells; but during my stay it rose to four hundred.

The market is held on the border of the village, on the bleak open ground which extends to the south; but there were very rarely more than 500 people, and in general scarcely as many as two hundred, assembled. But it is not to be denied that, taking into account the manner of living in these regions, a good deal of business is transacted in this place; and, on account of the many strangers who visit it, ready-cooked pudding, tíggera, and sour milk are offered for sale throughout the whole day. Besides salt, cotton strips, dyed cloth, Kóla nuts, corn, and asses, some copper manufactured chiefly into large drinking-vessels is also brought into the market by the people of Mósi. However, I do not think they manufacture the copper vessels themselves, but bring them from Asanti. Copper is worn by the inhabitants, by way of ornament, to a large extent; and I was greatly amused on observing that some of the young girls wore in the long plaits of their hair a very remarkable ornament made of that metal, representing a warrior on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand and a pipe in his mouth; for, with the Songhay people, smoking, although forbidden by the present ruler of the western part of the former territory of their empire, the fanatical prince of Hamda-Alláhi, is, next to dancing, the chief enjoyment of their existence. Whether these small horsemen worn

in the hair of the young damsels form an ornament without meaning, or are intended as auspicious omens as to their future husbands, I cannot say; and I must apologise to the reader for not being able, in this part of my journey, which was more beset by dangers, to enter fully into the private life of the people.

Altogether, Dóre, or as it is generally called, by the name of the whole province, Libtáko, appeared to me an extremely dry and uncomfortable place. However, this seemed to be rather exceptional, owing to the extraordinary drought prevailing that year; and it was not until the evening of the 17th of this month (July), that we had a moderate fall of rain, when nature as well as man appeared a little refreshed. The name which the Tawárek, as well as the Arabs of A'zawád, give to this place, namely Wéndu, or Wínde, seems to imply quite another character, as the word means pond or lake; but, in reality, a very extensive sheet of water is annually formed close to the western side of the town, although during my stay the extensive depression was dry; and I even have ground to suppose that this sheet of water is very often, through a very considerable backwater, directly connected with the Niger.

The political state of the country, however, was at the present moment worse than its material condition. The disorder and anarchy were such as to make it appear as if there were no government at all. There were so many different factions that one pa-

ralysed the other, and there is no doubt that the present misery was the immediate consequence of such a state of anarchy. There was a titular governor of the place called I'brahíma; but his mild disposition and his advanced age had left him scarcely any power at all, and I had to make my peace with all parties as well as I could. The most energetic and influential amongst the aspirants to power seemed to be a relative of the governor, of the name of Hámed 'Aísa. Then there was an elder but weaker brother of his, of the name of Bélko, and, further, a man of the name of El Jeládi, who troubled me greatly, begging me to write him a charm, by the secret influence of which I might procure him the government of the place.

Libtáko is situated between many different tribes, with the seats of the Tawárek close to the north, from whence these restless people are continually pushing on; and this situation necessarily imbues the inhabitants with a warlike spirit. In former times, especially, they were renowned for their valour, and distinguished, moreover, by the breed of their horses, but at the present moment, owing to the severe drought which had prevailed for so long a time, all the horses had been sent to a great distance, where they were likely to find better pastures. At present, there being so many factions and no strong government whatever, and the supremacy exercised by their liege lord in Gando being a perfect nullity, no certain line of policy can be pursued, and they are one day on good

terms with the Tawárek, while the next day some serious fighting takes place; and thus it happened that on the 16th a party of these people, who supplied the market with the article which all the people were in want of, were plundered of the whole of their property. Even with the inhabitants of the province of Yágha, so nearly related to themselves by origin and interest, there were serious dissensions; and during my stay in the place, the latter drove away all the cattle belonging to the village of Kória. The province comprises a considerable number of villages*, and, if well governed, would be of great importance, especially as forming the western province of the empire of Gando where it borders upon that of Másina, or Hamda-Alláhi.

I was peculiarly situated with regard to my new companion El Waláti, who was the sole reason of my making so long a stay in this place, while my exhausted camels, instead of having, as it was asserted, a fair opportunity of recruiting their strength for the remainder of the journey, were growing weaker every day from want of good feeding. The

* The names of the small towns and villages forming this province are as follows: Dóre, Kória, Katínga, Wéndu, Dáni, Dángadé, Sélgo, Jámga, Mámmashé, Báfadé, Pékul, Bámde, Babírke, Toródi, Pulé, Gámbetí, Bedíngel, three villages of the name of Debére, Bámura, Fadambáka, Gébu, Kóla, Bombúfa, Kácheré, Kénde, Lérbu, Buré, Benbenjángo, Kollangel-páttidé, Nélba, Beresángo, Fúlgu, Bílli, Chompángu (probably identical with Kampángu), U'regáudi, Gurmáre, U'relangáwu, Táka, Kilínke, Yákutá, U'riltáso, U'ro-Bellábe, Bangatáke, Tobijágha, Dankándi, Begontígi, Kúri.

clever Arab, who represented himself as a very important person in Timbúktu, and as an intimate friend of the sheikh El Bakáy, under whose especial protection I intended to place myself, at times had the power of raising my spirits by the interesting information which he was able to give me. Now and then, for instance, he described the great mercantile importance of Sansándi, or dwelt upon the great authority enjoyed by the chief, whose fame had inspired me with so much confidence in my undertaking this journey to the west, and through whose influence the former mercantile importance of Timbúktu had not only been entirely restored, but a new interest had accrued to it as being the seat of a religious chief of high authority, who exercised an influence, not very unlike that of the pope of Rome, over a very large tract of country, and extending even over the pagan tribes around, into the very heart of Mósi, that country which, as we shall see more distinctly further on, from a remote age has been the champion of paganism against Islám. But on other occasions the conduct of my companion was so little straightforward, as to fill me with serious fears. Nevertheless, I here entered into an agreement with him, giving him a fine black tobe and a black shawl, and stipulating to reward him, on my safe arrival in Timbúktu, with a present of twenty dollars and a white heláli bernús, besides buying him here a horse for the price of another tobe, three túrkedí, and a black shawl. On the whole, at that time, I was too much imposed upon by his fascinating manners to

become fully aware of his intriguing character; and perhaps it was well that it was so, or I might not have trusted myself into his hands. However, by degrees, I became heartily tired of the long delay which he, together with ʿAlí el A′geren, forced upon me. I had long prepared everything for my outset, and on the 20th I finished a letter, which I addressed to Her Majesty's consul at Tripoli, and inclosed it under cover to my friend ʿAbd el Káder dan Taffa, in Sókoto, and decided on intrusting it to the care of Dahóme, the man who had accompanied me from Gando, and who was to return home from this place, beyond which he enjoyed no authority; but unfortunately he took so little care of the parcel on his journey, when he had to cross a great many swollen rivers, that the outer envelope was destroyed entirely, so that the learned Púllo, not knowing what to make of a letter in a writing which he did not understand, left it with the bearer, with whom I found it on my return to Gando, in the middle of the following year. He had worn it as a sort of charm in his cap, while I expected that it had long reached Europe and informed my friends of my latest proceedings.

CHAP. LXII.

UNSETTLED PROVINCES OBSTRUCTED BY NATURE AND INFESTED BY MAN. — ARIBÍNDA. — HÓMBORI.

Thursday, July 21st. At length I set out on the last and most dangerous stage of my journey to Timbúktu, thinking at the time that I should be able to reach that celebrated place in about twenty days. But I underrated the distance, such a very different position having been assigned to that mysterious place by geographers; and I had no idea of the difficulties which attended this journey, at least for a Christian, and the delays which would be caused me by the character of the new companion whom I had attached to me.

On leaving the turbulent town of Dóre, a great many armed people accompanied me, much against my inclination; and their conduct was so suspicious that we were obliged to make a halt and send them about their business: for the inhabitants of this place, not long before, had robbed and killed, in a similar manner, a wealthy sherif, whom they pretended to escort, on his way from Sansándi. Just in crossing the shallow concavity where every year a very extensive sheet of water is formed, which often as-

sumes the dimensions of an immense lake, and even now was covered with fine fresh turf, we met a large caravan of Mósi traders from Bússumo, their asses heavily laden with immense bundles of tári, or cotton strips, and with Kóla nuts. Further on, where a little cultivation of cotton appeared, the monkey-bread or baobab tree became predominant. Altogether the whole province seemed to be in a miserable state; and the village Dánandé, which we passed after a march of about seven miles, bore evident traces of having suffered from the effects of war. The monotony of the country was pleasingly broken by a small rivulet, which we crossed a few yards beyond the village, and which was bordered by some very fine trees of the "mur" kind, which I have mentioned on a former occasion as affording excellent timber for boat-building. The baobab trees, also, were here greatly distinguished, both by their size and their fine foliage.

We took up our quarters this day in Wúlu, a village situated beyond a large sheet of water, or, as it is here called, "wéndu," overgrown by the finest trees. The place is inhabited by Tawárek slaves, who are *trilingues*, speaking Temáshight as well as Songhay and Fulfúlde; but their huts were very miserable indeed, and of mosquitoes there was no end, and we had likewise great difficulty in finding a supply of corn. The hut in which I took up my quarters had been recently built, and on the whole was not so bad, but so choke-full of

simple furniture, such as large jars, pots, dishes, saddles, provision-bags, and numerous other articles, that I could scarcely find room for myself, while the proprietor, when he returned from the fields and found a stranger quartered in the midst of all his treasures, felt so anxious, that he did not stir from the door. However, the west side of the village being bordered by a large sheet of water, or tebki, richly adorned with trees and herbage, I did not remain long in my close quarters, but hastened towards this green open spot, which was delicious in the extreme, but gave birth to a legion of mosquitoes.

We felt the inconvenience of this little hamlet the more, as we were obliged to stay here the following day; for we received a credible report that El Khatír, the most powerful of the neighbouring Tawárek chiefs, intended making a foray against this place, and the inhabitants were in a state of the utmost alarm. But a thunder-storm which broke out the next morning, accompanied with a considerable quantity of rain, relieved us, most providentially, of all danger from this quarter, swelling the many watercourses which intersect this region, to such a degree that they became impassable to the enemy. On the west side of the hamlet where we were encamped there is a considerable suburb of Fúlbe cattle-breeders; and in the evening a great many of them paid me a visit.

Saturday, July 23rd. We had here entered a district which was very different from that which we had

hitherto traversed in the province of Libtáko; and the nature of which caused us great delay, and very serious difficulties, on account of the many rivers and swamps which we had to cross. During the first part of our day's march, we had the wéndu of Wúlu for a long time on our right, but, having crossed without much difficulty one considerable branch of it, we came to another water with a strong current, which caused us a long delay, as it was at the time about 400 yards across, and not less than four and a half feet deep in the channel. The water at this spot has a southerly course; but it is difficult to say what greater river it joins.* For several miles the upper course of this same water, as it seemed, was seen at a short distance on our right. Large wide-spreading "mur," tamarind, and monkey-bread trees everywhere appeared, and we could see the foot-steps of a great number of elephants. The country on our left was undulating, and consisted of sandy soil clothed almost exclusively with the kálgo, with its ash-coloured leaves and its long red pods; but, as soon as the river receded, the character of the landscape also changed, the surface becoming rather level, and exhibiting more small brushwood, while numerous water-pools spread out, overgrown with kréb, or the edible *Poa*, and with molukhía. The district was full of buffaloes; but it was also much infested by a dangerous species of fly, which greatly

* I shall reserve a few further observations on this subject till my return journey along the Niger.

tormented our animals, and which is very rarely met with in the eastern part of Negroland. We encamped, after a march of about sixteen miles, in the midst of the forest, near the site of the former encampment of a Tawárek horde, where kréb was springing up in the most luxuriant abundance, affording the richest pasture to the horses, and a cheerful sight to ourselves; but we had here to sustain a very heavy rain, which lasted for several hours. Fortunately, it was not accompanied by much wind, so that my frail tent offered sufficient resistance; but the encampment was far from comfortable.

The rain had at length ceased; but we had scarcely resigned ourselves to sleep, when a troop of pilgrims, passing by at this unusual hour of the night, roused us at once. Fortunately, the ground which we had to traverse further on was of a rocky nature, else it would have been almost impossible to proceed after the last night's rain; but, after a march of about fourteen miles, we came to a very considerable sheet of water, which we crossed with extreme difficulty, and encamped close beyond in a state of entire exhaustion. The channel of the torrent itself, which had spread its inundation to a great distance, was so considerable, being at the deepest spot five feet and a half, that it almost swamped me on my horse, besides wetting all my luggage. The place where we had encamped was a narrow open spot in the forest; but the ground was full of ants, and we were also greatly troubled by innumerable swarms of small flies which

penetrated into all our clothes. Fortunately we had no rain, so that I was able to stay outside, as the heat in the tent was scarcely endurable. This day, also, we observed numerous footprints of elephants.

We rose with the hope that we might arrive at an early hour in Aribínda, or rather the chief place of that district, although we were aware that we should have to cross another considerable sheet of water; but we were sadly disappointed, for, after a march of about three miles through a more rugged district with black and red granite and a great quantity of gneiss, we reached the wide inundations of a river called Búggoma by my companions, which we endeavoured in vain to cross. Seeing that we should not succeed here, we struck off into the forest in a south-westerly direction, in order to ford it higher up, when suddenly we fell in with two men who were pasturing a couple of asses; but, although we made signs to them that we were their friends, they would not hear us, and, beating their shields, cried out lustily to their companions, who all on a sudden rushed out in every direction from behind the bushes, and in a moment surrounded us. There were from 150 to 200 people, all tall slender men, half-naked, with nothing but a poor ragged cloth round their loins, and another rag still poorer round their heads, and each armed with a couple of spears and a ragged shield, which they brandished over their heads with warlike gesticulations. The affair seemed rather serious, and here it was fortunate that

Monday, July 25th.

I had such a clever companion as the Waláti with me; for, while I was pointing my gun, he begged me to ride quietly in advance straight upon those people, and at the same time cried out to them that I was a sheríf, and a friend of the sheikh El Bakáy, to whom I was carrying a number of books from the east. All of a sudden they dropped their spears and thronged round me, requesting me to give them my blessing; and the circumstances under which I was placed obliged me to comply with this slight request, although it was by no means a pleasant matter to lay my hands on all these dirty heads.

On the whole it was very fortunate that we met with these people; for without their aid and information we should scarcely have been able to cross the water which intersected our track, at least without a most serious loss to our luggage. People in Europe have no idea what it is to travel during the rainy season in these regions; else they would not wonder that poor Dr. Vogel, in going at that time of the year from Yákoba to Záriya, lost most of his instruments, and all his collections, in crossing the rivers.

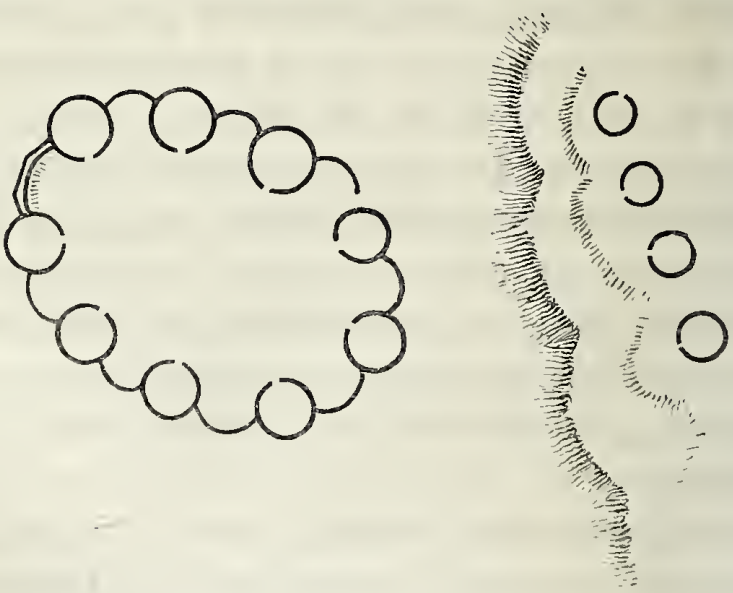
They were poor people from Gáó, or Gógó, and the neighbourhood, a mixture, as I thought at the time, of Songhay and Tawárek, but speaking only the language of the former; but I found afterwards that they belonged to the tribe of the Gabéro, of whom I shall speak in the following volume. They had visited the market of Aribínda, and were at present on their way to Dóre and Libtáko, carrying as mer-

chandise, on a couple of asses and bull oxen, nothing but cotton strips, or "tári," rice, and a few mats, of which latter article they brought me three as a present. Having received my blessing, and the tumult having quieted down, they conducted us to a place where they declared the water to be fordable. But the boggy ground inspired us with but little confidence; and it really caused us an immense deal of trouble. My people were obliged to carry all the luggage, even the heaviest, across the swamp, which was half a mile in breadth, the camels being scarcely able to make their way, even unloaded; and I myself had the misfortune to fall under my horse, in the midst of the swamp, almost as badly as had happened to me on a former occasion, on my journey to Kánem. I was firmly convinced that my horse would not be able to carry me over, and that it would be the safest way to cross the bog on foot; but I allowed myself to be swayed by the Waláti, who thought that my dignity, in presence of those native travellers, absolutely required me to remain on horseback. It was on this occasion that all my journals got wet through in a most miserable way, and we had the greatest difficulty in extricating my horse from the bog, in which it was lying for some minutes as if dead.

It was almost three o'clock in the afternoon when we again set out from the opposite side of the swamp; but we had first to return, along the water, in a north-easterly direction, in order to regain the direct

track. We then proceeded at an expeditious rate, in order to arrive at Aribínda before nightfall. A short distance before we reached our destination, the whole character of the country changed, granite mounds rising on our right and left to considerable altitude, and leaving only a narrow passage through which to proceed,—the beautifully sweeping slope of the eminence on our right being pleasantly adorned with bushes, and enlivened by goats.

Having left another village at the foot of the granite range, we took up our quarters in the lamórde or residence of the chief of Aribínda, which is likewise situated at the foot of the granitic ridge, part of the huts being built on the slope, and part in the plain,—the latter forming a group by itself, which, with its projecting and receding walls, formed a sort of de-



fence, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. Here we obtained quarters without delay, two of my

people having gone in advance; but they were narrow, dirty, and uncomfortable, and appeared to us the more miserable as a great deal of rain fell during our stay here. The inhabitants belong chiefly to the Songhay race; but there are also a great many Tawárek, or rather Tawárek half-castes, who live here peaceably, though in general the Tawárek and the inhabitants of these districts are engaged in almost uninterrupted warfare with each other,—the former always pushing more and more in advance, and threatening to overrun the whole of this region of Negroland. The people supply themselves with water from the holes in the rocks, where it collects,—their supply for the dry season being deposited in a cistern of large size. The soil in the valley, which here widens into a considerable plain, is very fertile, and does not require much rain; and the corn was here a little cheaper than in Libtáko, one hundred shells, or rather the equivalent of that sum, for shells had no currency in the place, being sufficient for the daily allowance of one horse. I also observed with pleasure a very fine herd of cattle. Aribínda* seems formerly to have been an important place, or rather province, and the most considerable, at one time, of all the districts on the south side of the river, so that the Songhay of Gógó designated it Hári-bínda, "the place beyond the water," which name, in a wider sense, is given to the whole country

* There are only three more villages at present belonging to the district of Aribínda, their names being as follows: Hóre, U'ri, and Wángaré.

on the south of the I'sa, or so-called Niger, as an equivalent to Gurma.

I had been very anxious to conceal the more valuable articles of my property from the prying eyes of my clever but greedy Arab companion; but the following day, as I was obliged to dry some of my luggage, which had been completely soaked, he got a peep at some fine bernúses which I had with me; and, in order to satisfy his covetousness, I thought it prudent to make him here a handsome present. Altogether my luggage suffered severely from the many watercourses which we had to cross at this stage of my journey, as well as from the excessive dampness of the weather. I also made some presents to the governor, but was rather astonished when, on setting out, he begged from me the very tobe which I was then wearing.

Wednesday, July 27th. The country which we had to traverse was diversified by small granitic ranges and detached cones; but it also afforded many localities for swampy grounds, very difficult to be crossed. In some places beans were cultivated besides millet. We encamped at length, after a march of about fifteen miles, in the midst of the forest, on the site of a former village, which was richly overgrown with the most succulent herbage, very grateful both to horse and camel.

Thursday, July 28th. We had had some summer lightning in the evening, followed by slight rain during the night; but about half-past six o'clock in the morning,

a very heavy thunder-storm broke out, accompanied by violent rain, which lasted till noon, and rendered us extremely uncomfortable. My friend El Waláti, being of a weak and nervous temperament, was, as usual on such occasions, laid up with fever. In consequence of the state of the weather, it was not till past three o'clock in the afternoon that we at length set out on our watery march, and after a stretch of about ten miles, having passed a very extensive and deep water, reached the Songhay village of Fíliyo, and with extreme difficulty obtained most indifferent and damp quarters in the dark. The whole village is built of clay, with elevated towerlike entrances not unlike the granaries in Champagóre. It consists of several detached groups, which are separated by cornfields, where the crops were standing moderately high. The inhabitants belong exclusively to the Songhay race, with the exception of a few Fúlbe, who, however, have themselves almost changed their national character; and although the village is externally subjected to the Púllo governor of Gilgóji, or Jilgódi, nevertheless the people have a very independent demeanour, and hold in detestation the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe: even their carriage bears evident testimony to a certain feeling of liberty; and there is no end of smoking. The women wear a profusion of ornaments, while all of them are, besides, distinguished by a copper ring round the wrist.

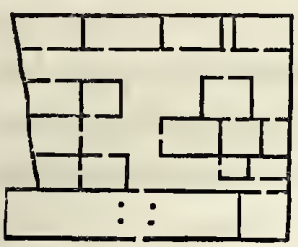
Having arrived so late the preceding evening that the horses had even remained without food, I was

obliged to stay here the next day in order to purchase a supply of corn, which I effected with the farráwel I had obtained in Libtáko, consisting of eight pieces called "kória," or "farda," sewn together. All the grain hereabouts consists of Negro millet, or, as the Songhay call it, "héni." The governor of the place, who had treated me inhospitably the first evening, on being remonstrated with for his miserly conduct, gave me very generous treatment.

Saturday, July 30th. On leaving the place, I was exceedingly struck with its castlelike appearance, as well as with the fine crops of corn which surrounded it on all sides, while a rich growth of trees embellished the district to the south. It was a fine morning, and, a heavy dew having fallen, the drops of wet slipping down from the corn glistened in the rays of the morning sun, while the monkey-bread trees being just in full blossom, the white bell-like flowers hanging down from the colossal branches gave a remarkable relief to the scenery. It was through such a country that our path kept along, on a rising ground, when, after a march of about fourteen miles, and leaving a couple of hamlets built of matting, like the dwellings of the inhabitants of Gógó, on one side, we reached the Songhay town of Tínge, built likewise in the shape of a "kasr," and situated on the summit of a small hill.

The houses in this village have not an elevated towerlike shape like those of Fíliyo, nor do they contain an upper story. They have flat roofs. The

walls consist of sun-dried clay, which is formed in regular lumps, like stones, and is placed in uniform layers, with loose clay between. Such being the mode of construction, the whole of the houses have rather a miserable appearance from without, and more particularly so at the time of our arrival, in the hot hour of noon, when the destructive effect of the rainy season became more apparent in the mid-day sun. But the interior of the dwellings is not so bad, and some of them are very large and spacious, as the accompanying ground-plan of the quarters where I was lodged will serve to show. These consisted of a very spacious antechamber, or segífa, forty feet long by ten feet wide, and as many in height, —I myself taking up the part to the right of the entrance, and my people that on the left, a sort of light wall being formed with matting. From this antechamber we could pass into an irregular courtyard, which gave access to a number of apartments where several families were living.



The inhabitants of this place are Songhay who have vindicated their liberty, up to the present time, successfully against the restless and steadily advancing Fúlbe, although in independence they are far behind their noble brethren in Dárgol and those other places lower down the Niger. The indigenous name of their family is Beleéde, or, as they are called by the Fúlbe, Kurminkóbe; and they are said to have come from

Zíshia, near Téra. The nobler among them do not disfigure their features at all by tattooing, or "kórto," while some of them make an incision under the left eye, from the nose towards the cheek-bone, and the common people, three separate incisions—three cuts on the temple, three in the middle of the cheek, and three at the lower part of the face. All of them wear clothing, the greater part of them being dressed in indigo-dyed shirts. Their weapons consist almost entirely of spears. Swords are very rare; nor are the bow and arrow, which constitute the principal weapons of the people of Dárgol, usual among them. The exertions of the natives of these places in defending their independence are greatly favoured by the discord and dissensions which prevail amongst the Fúlbe,—Mahamúdu, one of the Fúlbe chiefs of Dalla, having, in consequence of his disputes with the sheikh A'hmedu, taken refuge with the pagan natives of Mósi, from whence he makes continual predatory expeditions against the territory of his countrymen the Fúlbe. The inhabitants of Tínge, therefore, males as well as females, enjoy their liberty and independence in smoking the whole day long, and dancing every evening when it is not raining,—an amusement which already, in the eleventh century, the Andalusian geographer El Bekri did not fail to remark as characteristic of these people*, while their less happy brethren in Timbúktu and Jimbálla have been deprived of these

* El Bekri, "Description de l'Afrique," Arabe texte, published by Macguckin de Slane, p. 183.

their favourite and innocent amusements by the austere laws of their fanatical oppressors.

The natives are industrious, both in cultivating the ground and in weaving; and these habits seemed to be favoured by Providence, so that while all the neighbouring districts were suffering from dearth and famine, in this village corn was plentiful, especially Negro millet, or "héni." Indian millet, "sába" or "háme," was rather scarce. But the corn was still in seed and not pounded, so that we were obliged to stay here again a day in order to have a supply prepared for us. We bought our corn, in the beginning, for the farráwel which we had brought from Libtáko; but after a little while the inhabitants refused to accept of this cotton, which is not so good as their own manufacture. The cotton which I had brought from Gando was much better than theirs; but it did not please them, on account of the narrowness of the strips. My English darning-needles were, however, very acceptable, as being exceedingly well adapted for the coarse texture of their woollen shawls and blankets. Fifty of them fetched here a price equal to the value of a Spanish dollar; but the small common needles were regarded by them with the utmost contempt.

I employed my time, as far as the rainy weather would allow me, in taking a walk through the country; and I was not a little surprised when I found that the ground hereabouts, particularly towards the west, was very rocky, the corn being sown in the intervening patches

of arable soil. On a rising spot, a few hundred yards from the village, there was a group of matting huts, which constituted a small weaving manufactory. At the foot of the hill on which the village was situated, there was a deep pond covered with *Pistia Stratiotes*, like the ponds in the interior of Kanó; and it was from here that I was particularly struck by the fortlike appearance of the village, with its receding and projecting angles, and its half-circular, bastionlike walls in other places, as represented in the accompanying woodcut; while in the distance the mountain

groups formed an interesting background. However, we had here such a heavy fall of rain that I was obliged to sacrifice another day, as the roads were

rendered totally impassable. The rain which fell in the afternoon of the last day of July was of such violence that a fourth part of the houses in the town suffered more or less; and in one dwelling, which was totally destroyed, eleven goats were killed, while the inmates themselves had only just time to escape. It was discovered that just life enough remained in these poor animals in order to enable their owners to perform the essential ceremony of cutting their throats; for they also have a touch of Islám.

In the beginning of this my journey to the west, I had been very anxious to move on as fast as possible, in order to avoid the worst part of the rainy season; but seeing that all was in vain, I had become, in a certain degree, indifferent to the loss of time; but when the first of August broke upon me in this village, I became deeply concerned, and wrote in my journal: "May the Almighty bless this month, and lighten the difficulties which stand in my way, that before its close I may safely reach the place of my destination!"

It was most interesting to observe from the top of the hill the uninterrupted sheet of water, which, after the immense quantity of rain that had fallen, was spreading out over the low grounds in the plain; and the people themselves whose dwellings had suffered so much, and which were just about to undergo the necessary repairs, were standing gazing with delight upon the deluge which promised to them a very rich crop. My clever Arab from the west lay almost dead

with fever; but the head man of the town, whose name was A'bu-Bakr, a man of very stately appearance, was of rather a communicative disposition, so that with his assistance I was able to make considerable progress in my knowledge of the Songhay language; and, if I had been able to go on in this way, I might soon have mastered the language; but unfortunately my situation became too unsettled in the sequel to allow of a quiet course of study; to say nothing of the fact, that the extremely poor character of the language itself completely damped my enthusiasm.

I here first discovered the error of Caillié in giving to the people of Timbúktu the name of "Kissúr," or, as he writes, "Kissour," which is evidently nothing but a mistake, "ki-só'ri," or rather "ki-songhi," "ki-songhay," meaning the language of the Songhay. I here also became aware of the fact that this idiom is originally monosyllabic, while I observed likewise that the language spoken in A'gades, of which I had made a vocabulary, though evidently a dialect of the same idiom, had been affected to a great extent by the influence of the Temáshight, or Berber.

Tuesday, August 2nd. We at length set out to pursue our journey, which now became full of danger, as we had to traverse the province of Dalla, which is ruled by a governor in direct subjection to the fanatical chief of Másina residing in Hamda-Alláhi, who would never allow a Christian to visit his territory. I was therefore obliged to assume the character of an Arab. Just at that time a change in the govern-

ment of this district had taken place,—a young inexperienced lad having succeeded to the former ruler.

Fortunately there had been no rain the afternoon of the preceding day, so that the country had dried up a little from the inundation of the last of July, and the weather was fine and genial. Thus cheerfully proceeding on our road, we met several people on their way to the town with fowls and milk; for during our stay in Tínge the communication with the neighbouring places had been entirely interrupted by the heavy rains. A'bu-Bakr escorted me to some distance, when he left me with a hearty wish for the success of my undertaking, and begged me urgently to be on my guard. In taking here quite a northerly direction, we now entered a province where the population of the Fúlbe entirely prevails, and this day we had passed several encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders on our route, consisting of oblong oval-shaped huts, constructed of matting. Cattle seemed to abound; but the cultivation of the ground was rather scanty, and the character of the country uniform, and without any interesting features, the trees consisting almost exclusively of talha and homéd. We had also to cross a river, at present about 200 yards wide and two feet deep, which the preceding day had evidently been impassable and had carried away several head of cattle, a fact we learned from a Púllo neatherd whom we passed on our road, as he was cheerfully stalking before his cattle, and leading them along merely by the sound of his voice.

Thus, after a march of about thirteen miles, having

crossed a swamp and left a larger sheet of water on our left, we reached a miserable hamlet called Déshi, belonging still to the district of Kséne (which comprises Fíliyo), and consisting of several groups of half-decayed clay dwellings inhabited by poor Songhay people, who appeared to be greatly oppressed.

It was with some difficulty that we here obtained quarters; and we had the misfortune of falling into a dispute with the landlord, on account of the many dogs which beset his house, and would not cede their place to us. This was a certain proof that the natives were not far advanced in Islám, as the Mohammedans in general are averse to the company of this unclean animal, and the Fúlbe very rarely make use of dogs even for watching their numerous herds of cattle. Most of these dogs were of black colour, and almost all the fowls were of black and white colour. I here also observed that the native women carried the water in a pair of buckets slung across the shoulder, as I had remarked already in other Songhay places; but here, also, they did not wear nose-rings.

The country around was well cultivated, and produced especially sorghum; but the harvest of the preceding year had not been a favourable one, as was the case almost all over the country, so that dearth was prevailing.

We here met with a party of native traders from Hómbori, with oxen laden with salt, who gave us some useful information with regard to the road before us. It had been a point of great dispute with

us whether or not we should visit that town, one of the most ancient settlements in Negroland, probably already mentioned as an independent place by El Bekrí*, and forming the seat of a governor in the palmy days of the Songhay empire, the Hómbori-koy, and where even now a considerable market is held; but after mature consideration we had thought it better to leave it on one side, as on account of the considerable intercourse of people in that place, and the many Arabs who frequent it, the danger of my true character being there discovered was the greater.

Notwithstanding our determination not to touch at Hómbori, on setting out the following day, after an almost sleepless night, owing to the number of mosquitoes, we preserved an entirely northerly direction. There was a good deal of cultivation round the village, consisting of Indian and Negro millet, the crops being almost ripe. But I here met again that great annoyance to the husbandman, the black worm "hálowes," my old acquaintance in Bagírmi, which I had not seen in the whole intervening country, and which causes an immense deal of damage to the crops. The ground was rocky in many

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, 1857, texte arabe, p. 179.; comp. Cooley, the Negroland of the Arabs, p. 39. n. 73. — There can be but little doubt that by this مدينة انبارة Hómbori is meant; for although El Bekrí made a gross mistake in stating that this place was situated west of Ghána, while in reality it was east, yet, on the other hand, it is very remarkable that the distance of nine days between Ambára and Kúkia, or Kúgha, agrees exactly with that between Hómbori and the latter place.

places; but this did not prevent the growth of the monkey-bread tree, which is often seen shooting forth from between the very rocks. Further on I also observed a little cultivation of beans, while the black worm was succeeded by large heaps of the small red worm, which I had first observed on the banks of the river Sírba, and which seems to be a terrible nuisance to many of these districts. Gradually the road became more swampy, while we obtained a distant view of the detached mountains of Hómbori.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, five of our party, riding a little in advance of the camels, approached the town of Kúbo, when, being observed by some of the inhabitants, our appearance created a great alarm in the place, the people thinking that a hostile troop was approaching; but, as soon as they beheld our laden camels, their fears ceased, and they gave us quarters. Kúbo is the first place of the district called Tóndi, or el Hajri (meaning, the mountainous or stony district), while Fíliyo and Déshi belong to the district called Kséne; but in a political respect Kúbo belongs now to the province of Dalla, which at present is governed by a son of Módi Bóle; it is two days and a half distant from the town of Hómbori*, and is a place of some importance. The

* A person starting from Kúbo sleeps the first night in the forest, halting about áser; the second day, before noon, he reaches Tónderú, probably so called from being situated on or at the foot of a mountain; and the third day, about 9 o'clock in the morning, he arrives at Hómbori.

houses are usually well built, and consist of clay, the greater part of them including a tolerably large courtyard. Our house also was spacious; but, on account of my heavy luggage, I was obliged to take up my quarters in the open segífa, or antechamber, which was greatly exposed to mosquitoes. In front of my quarters there was a handsome square of tolerably regular shape; and towards the north a considerable tank spread out, along which led the path into the fields: for, the whole place being situated in a depression of the ground, all the moisture of the neighbourhood collects here.

The village is surrounded by a light stockade of two rows of bushes; and round about the place there are several ponds of water. Turtles are very common here, and the soil swarms with ants. The place was tolerably well provided with corn, and I bought here twenty mudd for one hundred drà of Gando cotton strips, equal in reality to nine hundred shells, but the mudd of Kúbo is smaller than that of Tínge, being about two thirds of its size, and in the form of a round dish, while that of Tínge is like a pitcher. The daily allowance of corn for a horse cost about one hundred shells.

A very heavy thunder-storm, accompanied with violent rain, broke out in the evening; and the clayey soil of the country which we had to traverse obliged me to stay here the following day. The delay caused me great disappointment, as the spreading of the news of my journey could not fail to increase its

difficulties, and the more so as we heard here the unpleasant tidings that the governor of Dalla himself was near, and that most probably we should fall in with him.

Meanwhile I was applied to by our host and a cousin of his, to decide a dispute between them as to the chieftainship of their village; but, of course, I referred them to their own liege lord, and they started off to join him, near the village of Dúna; but their absence did not expose us to inhospitality, as we were very lavishly treated with numerous dishes of Indian corn, which, however, were rendered less palatable by the use of the dodówa-bosso, or the adulterated dodówa; we also received a good supply of milk. I even bought a few fowls, though they were rather dear, selling for one hundred shells each, a price here reckoned equal to two darning-needles.

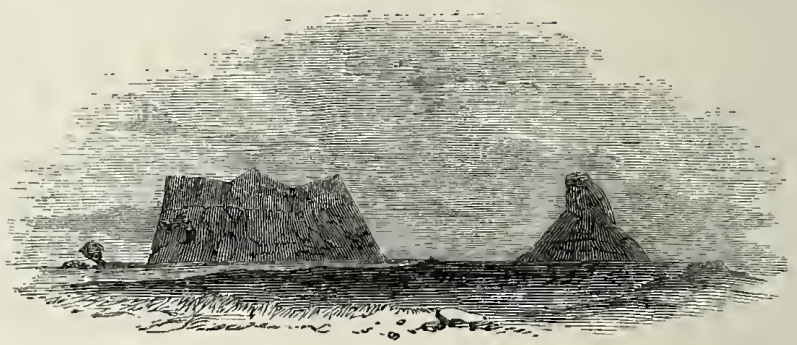
Friday, August 5th. There had been another heavy rain in the afternoon of the preceding day, but, fortunately, it had not been of sufficient duration to render the roads impassable. There was a great deal of indecision with my companion El Waláti as to the route which we should pursue; and while it almost seemed from our northerly direction as if up to this moment he had intended to take me to Hómbori, notwithstanding his former protestations against such a proceeding, he now pretended it was necessary that we should go to Dúna, and we accordingly changed our course to the west, or rather W.S.W., steering about like a vessel with contrary winds. There

can be no doubt that all this time the crafty Arab himself was hesitating as to the course which he should take, and this was evidently the reason of his great delay, as he probably thought that he might have a chance of getting rid of me, and taking possession of my property; but we did not become aware of this treacherous conduct till we arrived at the place of our destination, when we learned how providentially we had escaped all his wiles.

At the western end of the village of Kúbo there is a suburb of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, consisting of about sixty large huts of reed. As soon as we had left this place behind us, we were quite horror-struck at observing all the paths full of those small red worms which I have mentioned before, marching in unbroken lines towards the village; even my servants were quite surprised at such a spectacle, having never before seen any thing like it, and they gave vent to their feelings of astonishment, and at the same time of commiseration for the natives, in reiterated exclamations of "Wolla, wolla!" I am not acquainted with the reason of this curious phenomenon, but it seems peculiar to this region. Yet the ground was not quite barren, and was even sprinkled with violets here and there, the surface being undulating, not unlike the sandy downs of Kánem, the parallel of which country, namely about 15° of northern latitude, we had here reached.

Proceeding thus, we reached after a march of about four miles a higher point, from whence we had

a view over a wide expanse of underwood, broken only now and then by a baobab tree, while towards the north some of the detached cones of the Hómbori range gave to the landscape a very singular feature, the isolated eminences of the range (if range it can be called) starting up from the plain in the most peculiar forms, as the accompanying woodcut will show.



We passed the site of a former place; but at present there were only nomadic encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and only little cultivation was to be seen. The dwellings, in a hamlet which we passed a little further on, were of a very irregular description, corresponding to the corn-stacks which we had left on one side a little before, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. All the children here, even those of the Fúlbe, were quite naked. My companion El Waláti wanted to obtain quarters in this place; but fortunately the huts proved too bad, and we moved on, another hamlet, which we passed a little further on, being of a still worse description.

On passing several parties of Fúlbe travellers on our road, I was surprised at the change in the form of compliments, the mode of saluting having been, the last few days, "baráijo," but to-day we met some parties who saluted us with the well-known compliment "fófo," a word which, although probably of western origin, has been even admitted into the Háusa language, with the meaning of general well-wishing. Thus we proceeded cheerfully onwards, having crossed a very difficult boggy ground, where I almost lost one of my camels, till, a little after two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the poor village of Dúna, consisting of three detached groups of huts, one of which, with its high towerlike granaries with a pointed roof of thatch, presented a very remarkable spectacle. As for myself, I obtained quarters in an isolated hut of rather indifferent description.

The first news which I learned here, and which was far from being agreeable, was, that the governor of Dalla with his camp was at a short distance, and in the very road which we had to pursue the fol-

lowing day; and as in consequence it would have been highly imprudent to endeavour to pass him unnoticed, I determined to send two of my men to him with a present, while I pursued my journey with the rest of my people. But as this governor was a vassal of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who, if he had heard that I was a Christian, would probably have thrown great difficulties in my way, and perhaps not allowed me to proceed at all, I was not without great anxiety, and passed a sleepless night; and the crowd of people who had come out from the camp on the news of a distinguished stranger having arrived, and who completely surrounded me on my setting out, was far from agreeable. At length we started, traversing a district of red sandy soil, and overgrown with

scanty herbage, while a considerable extent of ground was under cultivation, without, however, promising a rich harvest, the crops being rather thin and of poor quality; and we had only proceeded a short distance, when we observed such enormous quantities of the red worm as we had never seen before, not even near Kúbo, forming large heaps, from which long and unbroken lines were seen moving eastward.

After a march of two miles, we reached the half-decayed and deserted village called Nyanga Segga, where the governor of Dalla was encamped. But, as if he had expected my coming, he and all his people had mounted. I had sent El Waláti and 'Alí to present my compliments to him; but when I was pursuing the right track, all the horsemen came up to me, requesting me to give them my blessing; and they so urgently entreated me at the same time to pay my respects personally to their chief, that I could not resist their request. But it almost seemed as if El Waláti had in some way or other compromised himself by his ambiguous conduct; and when I approached the emír, who was very simply dressed, the former quite forgot the part which he had to play, and, casting a wild look at me, requested me to withdraw, in such a manner as greatly to increase the danger of my situation. Deeming it better not to enter into a dispute with this man under such circumstances, I retreated as soon as I had complimented the chief, pursuing my track, but I was

followed by several horsemen, who were rather troublesome than otherwise.

The governor of Dalla is said to be more powerful than even that of Gilgóji, with whom he is in an almost continual state of feud, as is the case with nearly all these petty chiefs, although they are all the vassals of one and the same liege lord. This man, however, was to become of remarkable interest to me; for I was soon to meet him again under very altered circumstances, when, from being an object of fear to myself, he was obliged to sue for my protection, as will be seen in the sequel.

The country hereabout presented a sandy level mostly clad with acacias, and especially with a kind called érria. About eight miles beyond Nyanga Segga, the ground became swampy; and after a march of about two miles more we reached the fields of Mundóro, or rather their site, for, in the present desolate state of the country, they were not under cultivation at the time. Here the soil consisted of deep white sand adorned with large baobab trees, while parallel on our right, at the distance of about five hundred yards, a range of sandhills stretched along, overtopped in the distance by an imposing cone belonging to the Hómbori mountains. Thus reaching, at last, cultivated ground, where the crops, however, were still very scanty and in a neglected state, we entered, a little after two o'clock, the deserted village of Mundóro, which till recently had been a considerable town, consisting of a small kasrlike place, of dwellings built of clay, and with very pointed thatched

roofs, similar to those represented above, and an open suburb of spacious cottages, consisting of thatch-work of a very peculiar shape, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. With the exception of

about a dozen people, the place was quite deserted, the former chief, Mahamúdu, having fallen into disgrace with the governor of Dalla, and sought refuge with the inhabitants of Mósi, from whence he carried on a continual series of expeditions against his kinsmen. Fortunately we were accompanied by a trooper of the governor of Dalla, who took great care in supplying us with necessaries. All the huts were very spacious, but the thatching was not of very accurate workmanship, and the humidity which entered my hut in the course of the night, when we experienced a violent thunder-storm with very heavy rain, was considerable; but keeping up a large fire during the whole of the night, I felt tolerably comfortable, although the greater part of my hut was under water.

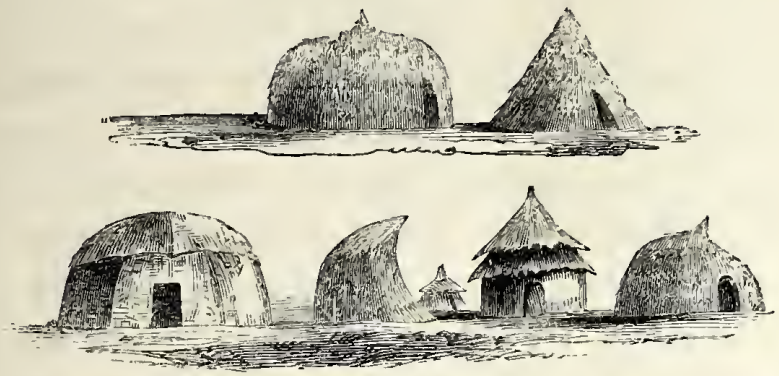
Sunday, August 7th.

Taking now a N.N.W. course, we again approached nearer the mountains of Hómbori, which for several days we had already observed in the distance on our right; but after leaving Kúbo,

owing to our curious zig-zag travelling, we had again turned off from them entirely; and when we left the village of Mundóro, it seemed even as if we were almost to retrace our steps, for we followed a direction a little E. from N. while ascending through cultivated ground, till, after a march of three miles, we reached the highest point of this tract, which presented to us a highly interesting view of the mountains, or rather the detached eminences, of the Hómbori range (which is represented in the accompanying woodcut), isolated cones starting forth from the plain in the most grotesque and fanciful forms.

Here we began to descend through an undulating sandy tract, where the acacia predominated, only interrupted now and then by a single baobab tree. Having passed a pond of stagnant water, we gradually began to turn a little westward from N., the country improving till we reached the

fields of I'sayé, or I'sé, a place of some importance, consisting, as the villages in this neighbourhood generally do, of a nucleus of clay houses remarkable only on account of its peculiar towerlike granaries, and a suburb of cottages of thatch-work, but of the most varied shape, several of which are represented in the accompanying woodcut; and here we took up our



quarters. As for myself, I obtained a large, excellent hut, with, however, this great defect—that the lower part of the thatching was so thin and frail that a heavy shower would have swamped the whole, but for a small channel which was carried all round the inner part of the wall.

I felt greatly exhausted, in consequence of the constant humidity to which I was exposed, and was neither able to enjoy the hospitable treatment which was shown me, nor even to get rest at night, although I changed my couch repeatedly in order to obtain some repose. But as we remained here the following day, I had sufficient leisure to become fully acquainted with the distinguishing features of this place; and I made a sketch (which has been represented in the

plate opposite) of the village, together with an extensive pond from which the natives at this season of the year get their supply of water, and the picturesque castellated mountains of Hómbori in the background.

The place is populous, and inhabited by Songhay and Fúlbe conjointly, the latter of whom belong to the tribe called Jéllobe, and are in possession of large herds of cattle and numerous flocks, while the native Songhay seem to be poor and rather badly off. As strict Mohammedans they have the custom of wearing silver rings on their little finger, which they fancy obtains favour for them when saying their prayers. A good deal of industry was apparent; but corn was very dear, although cheaper than it was said to be further on, where no corn was to be obtained except in Núggera; and I was glad to buy a small quantity of grain, the mudd for four drà of very broad cotton strips, while sixteen drà of Gando cotton strips were esteemed equal to ten drà of their own. Cowries, or "chéde," had no currency here, except for buying sour milk, of which there was a good supply. On account of the numerous pools which surround the place, it was infested by mosquitoes, which deprived me of what was most valuable to me —a good night's rest.

Tuesday, August 9th. There were two roads before us through the unsettled country to the north, where at present there are no towns, but only temporary encampments of the Tawárek or Imóshagh, who are

SONGHAI VILLAGE

now in possession of the country adjacent to the banks of the great river to a considerable extent, — one road leading in a more northerly direction to Láro, and the other in a north-westerly one to Bóne; and although the guide whom we had taken with us from Mundóro assured us that we should not find in Bóne either quarters or hospitality, my friend El Waláti, for some reason or other, preferred the latter route, and we had to make rather a long day's journey in the weakened state to which we ourselves and our animals were reduced. But the march was highly interesting, on account of the peculiar nature and the picturesque shape of the several detached cones of the Hómbori mountains, through the midst of which our way led. It would have been impossible, from the information which I had gathered from the natives, to form a correct idea of the character of the chain, which I had thought far more elevated and continuous: — the highest elevation which some of the cones reach does not appear to be more than 800 feet above the plain.

In the beginning the appearance of the country was more uniform, while the mountains, covered by the rising ground on our right, looked like mere hills, our track itself lying through a more level country sometimes covered with underwood, and at others presenting a bleak open ground, or "néga;" but the interest of this scenery increased considerably when we reached the western foot of a broader mound which had already attracted our attention the day

before. On a sloping ground, consisting of rubbish and boulders, there rose a wall of steep cliffs like an artificial fortification, forming, as it seemed, a spa-

cious terrace on the top, where there are said to be three hamlets, inhabited by a spirited race of natives who, in this rocky retreat, vindicate their independence against the overbearing intrusions of the Fúlbe. We even observed on the slope under the steep cliffs, where there are several caverns, some people pasturing their sheep, while fields of Negro corn and karás, or *Corchorus olitorius*, testified to the fact that the natives sometimes descend even into the very plain to satisfy their most necessary wants.

After passing this mound, and following a more north-westerly direction, we approached another mound, rising from the plain like an isolated cone, and with its steep, narrow, and rugged crest, looking exactly like the ruin of a castle of the middle ages.

Leaving this mound, together with the path leading to the Songhay town of Láro on our right, we approached the southern foot of another castellated mound, which stretched out to a greater length, but offered in its rugged and precipitous cliffs, exactly the spectacle of crenellated walls and towers. Where the foot of the mound juts out into the path on the top of the offshoots, the inhabitants of the mountain

had erected a small chapel, or rather a place for pagan worship, which presented a very peculiar appearance. Here we entered a sort of broad defile, formed between this castellated mound and another cone towards the west, which, although of considerable elevation, was not so rugged, and exhibited a less picturesque appearance.

Greatly fatigued by our long march, especially as a cool breeze in the morning was followed by an oppressive heat in the noonday hours, we reached, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the Fúlbe village of Bóne, situated at the foot of the eastern mound; but although I had sent two of my people in advance, we were unable to obtain quarters, and after some unavailing dispute we were obliged to encamp outside in the open grassy vale between the two mountains; for the inhabitants of this village, who are exclusively Fúlbe, do not like strangers to enter their dwellings, at least not for a night's quarters. They however treated us in the evening with a good supply of milk, while they also informed us that a large encampment of that section of the Tawárek which is called Iregenáten was at a few miles' distance. El Waláti supposed, or rather pretended to suppose, that they were the clan of a powerful chief of the name of Somki, and assured me that it would be necessary to make this chief a handsome present, in order that under his protection we might proceed safely from camp to camp till we reached the banks of the Niger; for although we might have travelled

by a more southerly road turning from this point westward to Núggera, it seemed more prudent to endeavour to get out of the range of the dominion of the Fúlbe, in order not to be at the mercy of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who certainly could not but be hostile to my intention of reaching Timbúktu. And it seems not to be out of place to mention here, that this very Núggera,—a hamlet of some note, as being the residence of learning and holiness,—was the point from which the founder of the dynasty of Hamda-Alláhi started.

CHAP. LXIII.

IMÓSHAGH OR TAWÁREK ENCAMPMENTS SOUTH OF THE NIGER. — LAKES AND BACKWATERS OF THE GREAT RIVER.

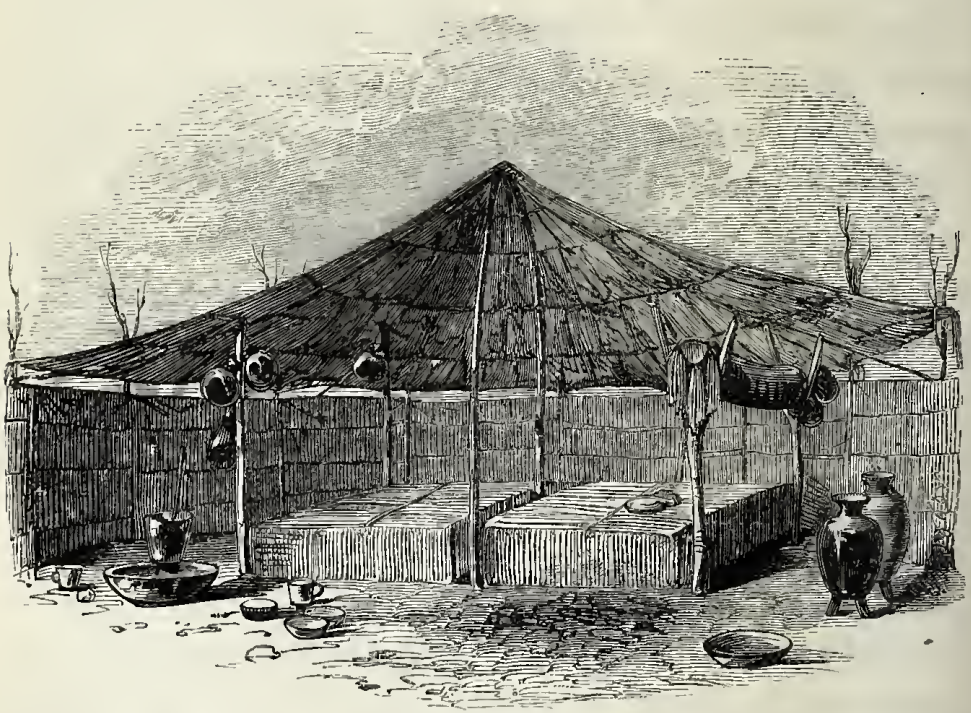
Wednesday, August 10th. In conformity with our project, I myself, with El Waláti and two of my people on horseback, leaving my luggage behind with the rest of my servants, started in the morning for the camp of the Tawárek, having provided a very handsome present, consisting of a large Núpe tobe, a red cap, a túrkedí, and three fine "háf" or "lithám," altogether worth about 20,000 shells. However, we had only proceeded about a mile when we met a few Tawárek serfs, who informed us that it was not Somki, but another chief who had moved his encampment to this place; and, from what I observed, I concluded that El Waláti had been well aware of this before, but wanted only to extort from me a large present. Once in the hands of this crafty Arab, I had to use great discretion in order to prevent him from betraying me altogether, and I was obliged to bear silently any little trick which he might play me in order to enrich himself, as long as I proceeded onwards and approached the object of my arduous undertaking. We therefore moved on, and, soon leaving the moun-

tains behind us, after a march of about eight miles through a plain covered with dense underwood, reached the encampment of the Tawárek.

This was a very important stage of my journey. Having with the greatest difficulty and danger crossed the wide open country of the other more easterly tribes of the Tawárek on the setting out of our expedition, and heartily glad to have got rid of them, I here once more entered their territory and delivered myself up into their hands without enjoying the protection of a single powerful chief, and guided solely by the advice of that crafty man whose only purpose was to get from me as much as possible. The encampment consisted of leather tents of larger or smaller size, but it evidently belonged to a chief without great power, as seemed to be apparent from the total absence of camels and horses. However, I immediately conceived a favourable impression of the muscular strength and dexterity of these people; for when we approached the tent of the chief, who was sitting inside upon his couch of reeds, he with a single jerk jumped out and suddenly stood upright before us. Of course the tent was open in front, but nevertheless it appeared to me a great gymnastic feat, especially taking into account the lowness of the entrance, as in jumping out he had to stoop at the same time. Without delay a smaller tent was placed at our disposal, and we made ourselves comfortable.

The tents, "éhe" (pl. éhénnan), consist of a large round piece of leather formed of a great number of

smaller sheepskins cut in quadrangular pieces and sewed together, while the borders of the whole are left purposely very irregular, in order to pass the stalks, which describe the outward circle of the tent, through the projecting corners. These skins are spanned over three pairs of poles, the middle pair of considerable elevation, the remaining two not so high, and one of them, on the right of the entrance, being forked, as represented in the accompanying woodcut,



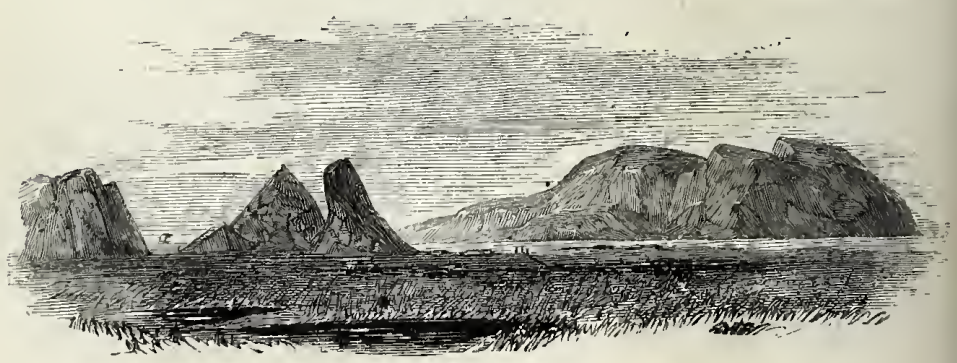
although, as far as I have become aware, the middle poles are not always the same, in some tents both joining at the top, in others seeming to stand apart. The whole character of these tents will be still better understood from the plate representing the Tawárek encampment at Amalélle in the next volume.

In such a tent there are generally two couches, or divans, called "teshégit," made of a fine species of reed, and raised about a foot from the ground; for these people generally choose the most swampy places for their encampments, and after a thunder-storm are sometimes to be found in the midst of a lake. They are also not wanting in comforts; and on every couch there is a leather pillow, "adafór," which certainly seems very essential, as it would be most uncomfortable to rest the elbow on the uneven and hard surface of these reed couches. Almost all the furniture of these simple people, besides a few wooden bowls for eating and drinking, consists of leather bags of excellent workmanship and sometimes very tastefully ornamented, as will be shown in the following volume. In these they stow away their clothes as well as their provisions; and during the night they surround the whole tent with very neat mattings of a fine species of reed, so that a tent of this description forms quite a comfortable dwelling.

Although our host was evidently not one of the first-rate chiefs, he, as well as his kinsfolk and friends who came to visit us, had a very noble and prepossessing appearance, being rather broad-shouldered, stout, and well knit, with a pleasing expression of countenance and a fair skin, though there were a few among them who, with their coarse features and their dark skin, bore testimony to the deterioration of the Berber blood. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when we were treated with large quan-

tities of fresh and sour milk, while a fat sheep was slaughtered and prepared for our supper, but without any additional food, these people living almost entirely on meat and milk.

Of course I had to make a handsome present to my new friends, consisting of a fine black tobe, a túrkedí, and a black harám; but I doubt very much whether my friend El Waláti gave them these articles as a present from me, or whether he sold them as his own. However, be this as it may, I wanted not only their protection, but their assistance too, as my camels were so weakened by the continual humidity to which they were exposed, that they were not fit to carry my luggage any further. But besides, as we had to pass the seats of these lawless tribes, we had to grope our way, as well as possible, from one encampment to the other, so that we wanted guides; and it was therefore arranged that, hiring a couple of pack-oxen at this place, we should join this tribe the following morning, when they would take us on our way to the chief, Somki. The mountainous district, in the direction of Núggera, had the following appearance at its termination.



On returning from this encampment to Bóne, being misled by a man who professed to know the district, which for the most part consists of swampy ground, we fell into a dangerous bog, and made our way with great difficulty. We were also visited by a very heavy thunder-storm in the evening, which swamped the whole country, killed one of my camels, and rendered our night's rest very uncomfortable. In consequence of this violent rain our road the next day, on our way to the Tawárek, was very bad, and we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps; but I was rewarded by the picturesque aspect of the scenery, a rich cascade rushing down over the steep cliffs of the mountain, from a height of about two hundred feet, and forming at the bottom a powerful torrent, which swept along through a fine border of vegetation in the direction of Bóne. The poor independent inhabitants of that mountain had left their stone cottages and caves on the slope of the steep cliffs, and were busy, after the fertilising rain, with the labours of the field in their limited grounds, clearing them of the weeds. The crops promised well, and had a healthy appearance. When we disturbed these poor people in their labours, they retired behind the safeguard of their Cyclopean rocks, and stared at us with great curiosity, the unusual appearance of our whole train causing them a great deal of dismay; and it was in vain that we endeavoured by our gestures to persuade them to continue their labours, as they did not understand us,

while we were greatly pleased to observe that, although pagans, they were decently clad with neat aprons of cotton round their loins.

Having at length joined our friends of yesterday, we pitched our linen tents, which greatly attracted their attention, at some distance from their leather dwellings, and were soon beset by numbers of the fair sex, some of whom were distinguished by their plumpness, especially by that peculiar feature called "tebúllodén," which I mentioned on a former occasion; but I was forced to frighten these fair visitors away, as, in consequence of the last day's thunder-storm, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to have recourse to an emetic. As for the men, their dress consisted throughout of a short shirt with short open sleeves, made of a coarse kind of broad cotton strips, only a few young lads, sons of the chief, wearing also, here in the encampment, blue-dyed shirts, with a patch of red cloth to adorn the large breast-pocket. Their head-dress was likewise very poor, consisting not of a whole shawl, harám or tesílgemist, but of single cotton strips of various colours, blue, red, white, and of the mixed kind called "shaharíye," sewed together, only a few of them being able to add a strip of red cloth: for, altogether, these Tawárek are very fond of a variety of colours, a feature already observed by that most excellent geographer El Bekrí*, and never leave the manufactured shirts of Núpe and Háusa as they receive them, with the exception of a few of the

* El Bekrí's "Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale," p. 118.

greatest chiefs, who pride themselves in possessing a whole shirt of that kind. Owing to the swampy character of the neighbourhood, which produced countless hosts of mosquitoes, and to the number of hyenas, which frightened the cattle repeatedly, I passed a restless and sleepless night.

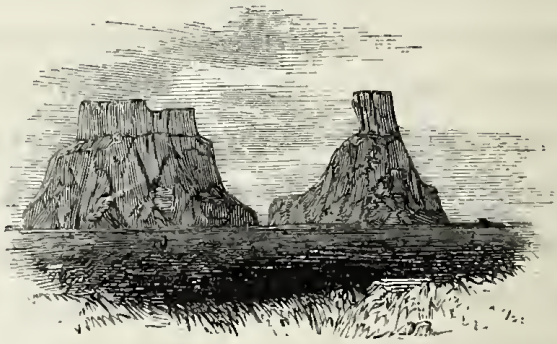
I was now in the hands of the Tawárek, and my crafty Arab companion was enabled to take full advantage of my dangerous situation. For, on the one hand, it had become necessary to represent me to these simple people as a great sherif, and thus to excite their hospitable feelings, while at the same time he instigated me to reward their treatment in a generous manner, but nevertheless sold my presents to them as his own property. It required a great deal of patience and forbearance on my part, to bear up against the numerous delays in this part of our journey, and to endure the many tricks played upon me by the treachery of my companion, in order to prevent at least his proceeding to open violence. In this encampment he bartered the horse which I had bought for him at Libtáko, for seven fat and powerful bulls, which, in Timbúktu, probably might fetch from 8000 to 10,000 shells each. This business being at length settled, and the whole encampment breaking up, we proceeded onwards. The men were mostly mounted on horses of a small unsightly breed, but well adapted to bear fatigue, while the women were sitting astride on their household furniture, which was packed on oxen and asses.

Friday, August 12th.

Proceeding thus slowly onward, our friends en-

camped about a mile from their former resting-place, or "ámazágh," close beyond an extensive meadow-water which caused the young herbage to spring up all around, and full of holes, thus creating frequent delay.

Continuing, then, our journey alone, and ascending higher ground, where a little cultivation was being carried on by the slaves of the nomadic tribe which at present have taken possession of these grounds, and passing another encampment, we reached, after a march of about eight miles, the camp where we were to make another halt. It was situated in an open tract of ground called Imeggélelé, adorned only by a few stunted talha trees, while at some distance to the south a flat vale spread out, clothed with a greater profusion of vegetation, and affording rich pasture to



numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The whole tract forms a sort of irregular valley, bordered towards the north by a hilly chain of slight elevation, and towards the west by a cluster of flat-topped cones.

The camp was governed by three different chiefs, called Sítina, Jáwi, and Feréferé,—the latter being

a man of a very powerful frame. Several small presents were necessary to satisfy them all. Besides, as the two pack-oxen which I had hired the day before were to return from this place, I had to buy here two animals myself; and I had great difficulty, in the course of the following day, in concluding a bargain: but I at length succeeded in buying one bull, with a tobe worth here 6000 shells, and a túrkedí of inferior quality worth 2000; and a second one, with three háf worth 4000, together with a túrkedí worth 3500. This was not, however, their real value, but the price fixed by El Waláti, who had himself a profit of at least fifty per cent. He also was the sole cause of my being detained here so long, as he wanted to sell the mare which he had brought with him from Bulánga; for horses constitute the chief article of trade with these people, and small Fúlbe traders, or rather Jawámbe or Zoghorán, visit them continually, bringing horses from Sofára and the country of Búrgu, where the best animal fetches not more than about 30,000 shells, and bartering them with these people for cattle, and the first evening of our arrival a numerous troop of these native traders arrived. It was here that I observed, for the first time, some of the Tawárek clad entirely in shirts made of leather, which they are skilful in preparing.

The bargaining being at length concluded, we got ourselves in readiness to pursue our journey, when a violent thunder-storm, gathering from the north, kept us back till nearly noon. We at length

Sunday, August 14th.

set out; but the recently bought animals were so intractable that we only moved on at a very slow pace. We had first to retrace our steps a little to the eastward, in order to cross the hilly chain which separated us from the sandy downs along the Niger; and had then to descend a very steep sandy slope, which brought us into an irregular valley, with the mountains of Dalla forming a conspicuous object towards the west. Having then turned round a mountain spur which stretched out into the plain on our right, we reached the encampment of Bélé, a powerful chief of the degraded tribe of the Haw-n-ádak. His exterior had nothing of that noble appearance which so eminently distinguishes the higher class of these wild tribes, as he was of unwieldy corpulency, and of a rather short figure, resembling the famous South-African chief, Nangóro, visited by Messrs. Galton and Anderson. He received us, however, very hospitably, and proved to be rather an intelligent man; but, fortunately, he had not sufficient cleverness to discover that I was a Christian, although, from the very first moment when he beheld my luggage, he arrived at the firm conclusion that I was not what my companions represented me to be,—namely, a sherif from the far east; but he had made up his mind, on account of the little knowledge which I possessed of his language, and which I had not quite kept back before him, that I was a merchant, either from Ghadámes or Morocco, and it was quite amusing to me to hear him argue this point, while he affirmed with the greatest

obstinacy, and with an oath, that I was a Shillúh, —a Berber from the north,—and wanted to represent myself as a sherif, in order to pass through his tribe with less trouble and expense. He, as well as his people, became, by degrees, rather troublesome; but they treated us well, sending us two prepared sheep, and large dishes of rice boiled in an abundance of butter, but without salt. The chief himself is said to consume every day a sheep, and the supply of milk from seven cows,—in this respect reminding us of the Emperor Vitellius.

Monday, August 15th.

I presented to the chief a first-rate túrkedí, two black shawls, and a red cap; but as my fine horse excited his cupidity, we had some difficulty in getting away, and matters appeared for some time rather serious. But having at length proceeded on our journey, after a little more than a mile, we ascended from the rich grassy plain, upon an undulating tract of deep sandy soil, richly clothed with mimosa and herbage, and broken now and then by a depression or cavity covered with the richest species of grass, called "banga." Numerous flocks of sheep were pasturing here, and a servant of Bélé, who accompanied us, felt no compunction in seizing the fattest specimen and slaughtering it. After a march of about eight miles, the poisonous euphorbia became very common; but we looked in vain for water, as we had taken no supply with us, and it was not till after a long march over the sandy downs, that we reached a pool of stagnant and dirty water. A

little more than two miles beyond, we came to another encampment of Tawárek. Here fortunately I found better rest than at Bélé's, only a few people being present at the time. The chief, too, being of rather a subordinate character, raised his pretensions less high.

On account of their degraded character and their low condition in the scale of Tawárek society, these people were not even allowed to wear swords, which is the emblem of the free and noble Amóshagh, but, besides their spears, they are only armed with a long "télak," or knife, worn at the left arm. All the Tawárek hereabouts wear short narrow shirts, and short and tightly fitting trowsers; and almost all of them wear round the lower and upper part of their face, a shawl composed of strips of different colours and materials, as I have stated above; only the chief himself uses a black tobe, and a shawl of the same colour.

These various tribes pasture their cattle quite differently from each other. Most of the Tawárek, like the Fúlbe in general, drive them out early in the morning, and fetch them home when the heat of the day commences, in order to milk them, after which the cattle are again driven out till evening; but the people of this as well as of the last day's encampment, pasture their cattle during the night, and fetch them home early in the morning for milking. We had a fine cool breeze in the evening, which refreshed me extremely while lying in front of my tent; but in the night a heavy thunder-storm broke out, followed by a moderate quantity of rain.

August 16th.

It was almost noon when we started, for as long as my friend El Waláti had something to sell, there was no chance of travelling, and in order to diminish my dissatisfaction, it was pretended that one of my pack-oxen was lost. Here my companion bartered his young camel for sixty sheep, and the bargain being at length concluded, we were allowed to proceed on our journey. But before setting out I had to give my blessing to the whole population of the encampment, male as well as female. Among the latter I discovered a few pretty young women, particularly one, who, together with her baby, formed a most pleasing spectacle, her beauty being enhanced by her extreme shyness in approaching me; but their dress was very poor indeed, consisting of coarse cotton stuff, which was wrapped round the body and brought down over the head. All the boys under twelve years of age have the left side of their head entirely shaven, while from the crop on the right side a long curl hangs down.

At length we were again on the road, but our march, through a rather level tract of country, was only of short duration, and after a little more than six miles, having crossed a basin where a large sheet of water had collected, we again took up our quarters in another encampment the chief of which was stated to possess great authority, so that I had once more to give presents to the value of nearly 10,000 shells, besides a túrkedi and "háf" to be given to the man belonging to Bélé, who had served us as a guide. I

had likewise to send a present to a Tárki chief at some distance, in order to take every precaution recommended to me by my companion to insure my safety, although I felt certain that he himself applied the greater portion to his own use. It was thus that my supplies rapidly disappeared, and I had a fair prospect, if this state of things should continue for any length of time, of arriving in Timbúktu greatly lightened. We were however hospitably treated by our hosts, and were even regaled with the uncommon luxury of a large dish of "megáta," a sort of maccaroni, prepared from wheat with a rich seasoning of butter, and famous since the time of El Bekrí. As a proof that we were approaching Timbúktu, I may mention that the people of this encampment were extremely anxious to get a sip of tea, which they called the water of Simsim, from the celebrated well of that name in Mekka. Another of my camels being knocked up, I here exchanged it for four bulls, one of which was fit for carrying burdens, being equal in value to two or three of the others; but I had afterwards a keen dispute on account of this bargain, the camel having subsequently died.

August 17th. On setting out from this encampment, we kept at first a little more westward, thus leaving the district of Banséna, which formerly seems to have been of some importance, to the north, in order to avoid the encampment of I'so, a brother of Somki, who had sent a messenger the preceding day in order to invite us to pay him a visit. The district

through which we passed is called Mínta, and is rich in ironstone, while ruins of former smelting-places are seen in different localities; but it was extremely barren, extensive tracts of bleak native soil, called "néga" or "hamraye," fatiguing the eye under a hot African sun. Further on the soil became swampy, and bore frequent footprints of the elephant: but after a march of a little more than three miles, while we again returned into a northerly direction, we entered an undulating sandy tract clothed with bushes, and two miles and a half beyond again encamped on the site of a Tawárek ámazágh. Here, after having made some presents, we were well treated, two sheep being slaughtered for us; but we passed a most uncomfortable night on account of the vast number of mosquitoes which infested the place.

Thursday, August 18th.

We at length made a tolerable day's march in order to reach the small town of Bámbara, which forms the southernmost of the fixed settlements of the Songhay along the creeks and backwaters of the river in this part of the country. The district through which we passed in the beginning of our march formed a tolerable level, thickly overgrown with bushes and the feathery bristle, which gradually attained such a height, as to reach the rider on horseback. At times also the poisonous euphorbia predominated, and after a march of about nine miles our old friend the hájilíj, or *Balanites ægyptiaca*, which I did not remember to have seen since leaving Fógha, began to appear. But far more cheerful than the

sight of this tree was the view of a large sheet of water, which appeared on our right about three miles further on, and which excited in me the first idea of the size and richness of the upper course of the Niger; it is here called Dó; but in its further course northwards, where the eye could not reach the border, it bears the particular name of Siléddu, and at least at certain seasons of the year is in direct connection with the river.

Having then passed a small tract of cultivated ground and emerged from the undulating country, we obtained a sight of the town of Bámbara, situated a little in front of a chain of hills, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. In an hour more we

reached the place, and at the instigation of our Arab companion fired a salute with our pistols, whereupon the principal individuals made their appearance, and we obtained quarters without further delay. The town or village consists partly of low clay buildings, partly of huts, but the inhabitants appear to dwell almost exclusively in the latter, using the clay dwellings, which generally consist of low, oblong, and flat-roofed buildings, as store-rooms or magazines for depositing

their treasures; that is to say, their long rolls of cotton-strips, "leppi," or "tári." The dwelling also which was assigned to me consisted of a rather low dirty hut, which was anything but well ventilated, and proved almost insupportable during the hot hours of the day. But the clay soil in the courtyard was too hard for pitching my tent, and besides, it was not advisable to expose myself in this manner to the gaze of inquisitive and curious observers. The inhabitants of this place, almost all of whom are Fúlbe, and on account of their large features evidently belong to the section of the Toróde or Tórobe, are ill-famed as "dhálemín," or evil-doers. However, they are a warlike set, and had succeeded a few months before in driving back the Awelímmiden, who had made a foray on a large scale against the place. But Bámbara is important in an economical respect, for the inhabitants, besides possessing numerous cattle, cultivate a large extent of ground; even many of the people of Timbúktu have fields here, the transport of the grain being easy and cheap by means of the immense inland navigation which is formed by the many back-waters and branches of the Niger. But the neighbourhood of the place is very barren, and at that time especially, when no rain had fallen for some time, looked extremely dry, so that the camels had to be driven to a great distance to find pasturage. Some Tawárek half-castes are also settled in the place, and they kept up dancing every evening till a very late hour.

Bámbara is called Hudári by the Tawárek or Imóshagh, and Sukurára by the people of the kingdom of Bámbara, the Bámanón, or as they are called by the inhabitants of Timbúktu, Benáber. Why the name Bámbara has attached to this place in particular I cannot say, but probably the reason was, that the people of Bámbara, who some seventy years ago conquered all this country to the south of the river, retained dominion of this town for a longer time than of any other place in the neighbourhood. There is no doubt that the Fúlbe, or Fullán, as well as the Songhay and Arabs, call the place only by the latter name.

I had to stay in Bámbara several days, not at all for my own comfort, as I continually ran the risk of being recognised and identified, having been known as a Christian at the short distance of a few days' journey from here. Nothing but the scanty intercourse which is kept up in this region made such a sudden change of character possible, for as yet I had nobody to protect me. But my friend El Waláti, whose relation with the inhabitants of this place was of a peculiar character, derived the sole benefit from our stay. He had married here, four years previously, a rich wife, and had absconded with all her property: besides having seriously offended the powerful Tárki chief Somki. Having thus made himself so obnoxious to them, he would not have been able to enter the place again, if he had not found an opportunity of enriching himself at my expense and enjoying the protection of my

company. However, it was only by degrees that I became acquainted with all these circumstances, while I had to bear silently all the intrigues of this man, my only object being to reach safely in his company the town of Timbúktu; but it was evident enough that he was continually wavering, whether it was not more profitable for him to deliver me into the hands of the Fúlbe, as he knew well that in the town of Dár-e'-Salám, which was only thirty miles distant, there was a powerful governor, under the ruler of Másina, and himself a son of Mohammed Lebbo, who, at the first intelligence of my real character, would have cut short all my proceedings, and, in the most favourable case, would have sent me direct to his liege lord and nephew in Hamda-Alláhi.

I had to make here some considerable presents to a number of people. There was first our host Jóbbo, who had given us quarters, and who treated us very hospitably; then, the son of the chief or emír, who was absent in Hamda-Alláhi; next, three kinsmen of the latter, who were represented to me as dhálemín; and lastly, three Arabs from Timbúktu, who were staying here at the time, and whose friendly disposition I had to secure for some reason or other. One of the latter was a very amiable young man, of the name of Mohammed el Amín, son of the learned kádhi Mústapha, and it was he, in particular, who gave me some information with regard to my friend El Waláti, who, on his part, endeavoured to obtain the favour of this young man, by persuading me to make him a

good present, and to commission him to take charge of my horse through the dangerous and watery tract of country from Sarayámo to Kábara. As for the second of these Arabs, he belonged to the small tribe of the Ansár, or, as they are generally called Lansár, —that most respected Arab tribe which, on account of its intimate connection with Mohammed, enjoyed everywhere and at all times great influence, but which is at present reduced to a very small fraction. He was a follower of Hammádi, the rival of the sheikh El Bakáy in Timbúktu, and seemed to be of such a hostile disposition towards my friend that the latter represented him to me as shamefully exiled from that town, and as totally disgraced. Besides these presents to the inhabitants of the place, I had also to reward the various people who had accompanied us from the Tawárek encampments in order to show us the road, or rather to drive the sheep and cattle belonging to El Waláti. But in return for all these presents I was at least treated hospitably and, for these countries, even sumptuously; and I was glad to find that the rice here, which constituted the chief article of food, was of excellent quality.

While we were staying in this place I received a visit from two Tawárek chiefs, who, owing to our slow progress, had heard of me, and came in order to obtain from me my blessing, but more particularly some presents. The chief of them was a very respectable-looking man, of the name of Mohammed, or Hemáhemé, with large open features, such as are never seen

among the Kél-owí, and of a tall stately figure. They behaved very friendly towards me, and one of them even embraced me very cordially; but the scale of their religious erudition was not very considerable, and I was greatly amused when El Waláti, in order to get back from them his tobacco-pouch, which they had secretly abstracted from him, suddenly seized one of my books, which happened to be "Lander's Journey," and, on threatening them with it as if it were the Kurán, the pouch was restored without delay.

I had been questioned repeatedly on my journey respecting the Méhedí, who was expected soon to appear; but these people here were uncommonly anxious to know something concerning him, and could scarcely be prevented from identifying me with this expected prophet, who was to come from the East.

They were scarcely gone when a messenger arrived from the great chief Somki, whose name had already filled my imagination for so long a time; and, at El Waláti's most urgent request, who did not fail to enhance the importance of this man as much as he was able, I prepared a considerable present, worth altogether 33,000 shells, which my friend was to take to him on the following day.

Now it would not have been at all necessary to have come into any contact with this chief, as the direct road to Timbúktu led straight from here, without touching at Sarayámo, near which place Somki had formed his encampment; but my friend

represented the direct road from here to Timbúktu as leading along the encampments of several powerful chiefs, whom it would be more prudent to avoid; and perhaps he was right, not so much from the reason stated as on account of the water-communication between Sarayámo and Timbúktu offering a great advantage. In conformity with these circumstances, on the third day of our stay here, El Waláti at length set out for the encampment of Somki, in order to obtain his protection, to enable me to pass safely through his territory; and I sent along with him my faithful servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, whom I had just cured of a severe attack of dysentery, although I could not expect that he would be able to control the proceedings of the crafty Arab, as he did not understand the language of the Tawárek. They did not return until the third day, and gave me in the meantime full leisure to study a little more accurately the relations of this place.

CHAP. LXIV.

THE NETWORK OF CREEKS, BACKWATERS, AND LAKES BELONGING TO THE NIGER. — SARAYÁMO. — NAVIGATION TO KÁBARA.

On my first arrival at the town of Bámbara, I had not been at all aware that it formed a most important point of my journey, it being for me, as proceeding from the south-east, what that celebrated creek three days west from Timbúktu was to the traveller from the north during the middle ages, and which on this account has received the name of "Rás el má." The town of Bámbara is situated on a branch, or rather a dead backwater of the river, forming a very shallow bottom of considerable breadth, but a very irregular border, and containing at that time but little water, so that the communication with the river was interrupted; but about twenty days later in the season, for about four or five months every year, during the highest state of the inundation, the boats proceed from here directly, either to Díre by way of Gálaye and Káñima, or to Timbúktu by way of Délego and Sarayámo, thus opening a considerable export of corn towards that dependent market-place, which again has to supply the whole of the nomadic tribes of A'zawád, and the neighbouring districts.

This shallow water is bordered on the west side by the hilly chain which I have mentioned before, and beyond there is another branch, which joins it towards the south. Such being the state of the water at present, there was no great activity, and two canoes only were lying here under repair, each of them being provided with two low chambers, or cabins, vaulted in with reeds and bushes, as I shall describe further on. Of course, when this basin is full of water, and navigated by numbers of canoes, the place must present quite another appearance, while at the time of my visit its shallow swampy state could not but increase the dulness of the whole neighbourhood, which had not yet been fertilised by the rainy season. I was assured by the inhabitants that only one plentiful shower had as yet fallen. This was the reason that, instigated by the absurd rumour which had preceded me that my favour with the Almighty was so great that it had some influence upon the fall of rain, all the inhabitants, although Mohammedans, assembled on the second day of El Waláti's absence, and, headed by the emír, came to me in procession, and solicited my interference in their behalf for a good shower of rain. I succeeded this time in eluding their solicitations for a direct prayer, satisfying them by expressing my fervent hope that the Almighty would have mercy upon them. But I was so favoured, that there was really a moderate shower in the evening, which did a great deal of good to the ground, although the air did not become much cooler, for it was excessively hot all

this time, and sometimes almost insupportable in my narrow dirty hut. I remember in particular one miserable night which I spent here, when, not being able to obtain a wink of sleep, I wandered about all night, and felt totally exhausted in the morning. Notwithstanding the swarms of mosquitoes, I afterwards preferred sleeping outside my hut, in order to inhale the slight refreshing breeze which used to spring up during the night. Unfortunately I had, to the best of my belief, long before broken my last thermometer, and was therefore unable, or rather believed myself unable, to measure the heat with accuracy, but it could certainly not be inferior to the greatest rate we had experienced in Kúkawa. The whole country round about the village is very bleak, consisting chiefly of black argillaceous soil, such as is common in the neighbourhood of large sheets of water, and scarcely a single tree offers its foliage as a shelter from the rays of the sun.

I had also sufficient leisure to pay full attention to the trading relations of the inhabitants, which, at this time of the year, are rather poor; for although a daily market is held, it is on a very small scale, and, besides sour milk and salt, very little is to be found. Even Indian corn is not brought regularly into the market, although so much agriculture is going on in the neighbourhood, and I had to buy my supply from strangers who by chance were passing through the place, while for one of my oxen I got only as much as forty sáa, or measures of corn: of rice, on the contrary, which

is extensively cultivated in the neighbourhood, the natives, even at this season, appeared to possess a sufficient supply. The standard currency consists of "tári," that is to say, cotton strips two hands wide, of which, unfortunately, I did not possess the smallest quantity; it is only in purchasing sweet or sour milk that the inhabitants accept shells. Everything that is sold in the market is measured and inspected by an officer, who does not bear the same title by which he is known in the eastern countries of the Fúlbe, viz. "lámido-lúmu," but is here called "emíro-fóba."

A good deal of entertainment was afforded me by the daily turning out and bringing in of the several divisions of the five herds of cattle which the place possessed. Three herds returned early in the morning from their pasture grounds, where they had been left during the night, in order to be milked; and the two remaining ones were then turned out, in order to return during the heat of the day. But notwithstanding the considerable number of cattle which the place possessed, the drought was so great that there was only a small supply of milk at the time.

At length, on the evening of the third day after their setting out, my two companions, whom I had sent to Somki, returned, and El Waláti would fain have made me believe that that chief had at first most obstinately refused to receive the presents, and had peremptorily demanded that I should make him, in addition, a present of one of the horses; but the fact

was, that he had persisted in representing that those presents did not come from me, but had employed them in order to make his own peace with that powerful chief, and to conclude some bargain with him. After all this, he had the insolence to propose that I also should go to that chief, in order to surrender to him some more of my property as his own; but I could not prevent it, and my only object was necessarily to get over my difficult situation as well as possible..

Thursday, August 25th.

Having, after the return of my friend from his important embassy, still been obliged to stay another day in this miserable place, and having had the misfortune to lose my best ox of burden, which El Waláti had sold to the Tawárek who came along with us, pretending that it had been stolen, I at length set out on my journey to Sarayámo. But just as we were about to start, a circumstance happened which might have proved fatal to my further proceedings; for, at the moment of departure, there arrived an Arab, a native of Tisít, who, besides having visited St. Louis, had made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and knew something about Europeans as well as about the Arabs of the East; and as I asked a great many questions about the ancient and celebrated town of Bíru, and the modern Waláta, he began to make some stricter inquiries concerning my native home, and the places from whence I had gathered my information; for not having found any one on his journey towards the East who knew anything

about the seats of these Western Arabs, while the general name of Shingíti is given to all of them, he was not a little astonished to find that I knew so much about his countrymen. However, my whole appearance inspired him with such confidence, that he continued to take great interest in me. He had already, the previous evening, sent me a fat sheep as a present, and he now accompanied me for a while, mounted on a beautiful white mare; but, as his company prevented my laying down the route with accuracy, I persuaded him not to give himself any further trouble.

Having crossed a small watercourse, we soon reached a larger one, which formed a running stream, carrying the surplus of the shallow creek of Bámbara towards a larger sheet, which, at the distance of a mile, we saw expand on our right. The surface of the country was undulating, with granite cropping out here and there, and with a good supply of stunted mimosa, besides the poisonous euphorbia; but, about two miles beyond the open water, we descended into a more level tract, covered with nothing but dry and short herbage, and abundance of the obnoxious feathery bristle; but this is very favourable ground for the cattle, for they are not less fond of this bristle than their masters themselves are of the seed, called "úzak," which from the most ancient times* has constituted one of their chief articles of food. We

* See El Bekrí's "Description of Africa," ed. de Slane, p. 181.
وعيشهم من اللحم و اللبن و من حب تنبته الارض من غير اعتمال

passed, also, the sites of several former Tawárek encampments.

Having then entered a district where more dúmbush appeared, we ascended a sandy ridge, from whence we beheld, in front of us, an extensive sheet of water, stretching out to a distance of several miles, its surface agitated by a strong breeze, and with tall reeds forming its border. It is called Nyéngay by the Fúlbe, and Isse-énga by the Tawárek, and is in connection with the branches of Bámbara and Káñima, winding along from here by way of Gálaye to the latter place, and from thence by way of Délego to Sarayámo, and thus opening an uninterrupted navigable canal, at least during the highest state of the inundation; but it is said to be dreaded by the boatmen of the frail native craft, who never dare to cross it in a storm. It seemed, in a south-westerly direction, from six to eight miles across, but towards the north-west it became contracted in such a manner, that at the narrowest place only two canoes can sail abreast; after which it turned away, and could not be further surveyed from this point.

Having followed the border of this fine and imposing sheet of water, where numbers of people were catching fish, for about a mile and a half, we ascended the sandy downs on our right, and soon reached the encampment of Mohammed, the chief of the Kél-e'-súk, who a few days previously had paid me a visit in Bámbara. Here I had to give away several more of my effects, but we were treated most hospitably, and even

sumptuously, and besides two enormous bowls full of rice and meat, swimming in an immense quantity of butter, a whole ox was slaughtered for us. The site of the encampment was very beautiful, and I walked for a long time about the downs, which were adorned with a rich profusion of trees of the acacia kind, and offered an interesting prospect over the lake; but the ensuing night was most miserably spent on account of the numerous swarms of mosquitoes which infested the encampment.

August 26th. We were very early in motion, but a heavy thunder-storm which gathered from the south-east delayed our departure, although, taking into account the slow rate at which I was here obliged to travel, it was a matter of total indifference whether we started early or late, as I was quite in the hands of my friend the Waláti, who stopped wherever he had any business to transact, and did not set out again until he had concluded his bargain. The rain clouds then taking a more northerly direction, we at length set out, pursuing our track over the hilly country, and while we lost sight of the lake of Nyéngay on our left, soon discovered on our right another but smaller sheet of water called Gérru. The Nyéngay is said to be full of water all the year round; but the Gérru becomes dry in summer, when the inhabitants of Sarayámo repair hither in order to cultivate their rice-fields, the rice ripening with the rising waters, and being cut shortly before the river attains the highest state of inundation.

Having left these interesting sheets of water behind us, we traversed a district more richly adorned with acacias, and crossed a valley where the siwák, or *Capparis sodata* (a bush which I scarcely remembered to have seen since my return from Kánem), was growing in great exuberance, besides numbers of gerredh, or the useful *Acacia nilotica*, but we searched in vain for water. The country also which we traversed from here onwards was chiefly clothed with the *Capparis* and the *Mimosa nilotica*, besides a good deal of dúm-bush; but, further on, we emerged from this undulating tract into an open swampy ground, at present tolerably dry, and covered with rich herbage, while we left on our right the site of the formerly important town Sáma-koira*, which once lorded it over a considerable territory till it was destroyed by the Tawárek, when the remnant of its population escaped towards Bamba and Ghágo.

In these open swampy meadow grounds, girt by a dense belt of gerredh, where no Arab would think of pitching his tent, was the encampment of the chief Somki, with his family and his followers (the tents of the kind I have described being just pitched), and his numerous herds of cattle grazing right and left, besides about twenty camels. We found the chief

* This is the name which the Songhay give to the place, "koira" meaning "town" in the Songhay-kiní; while the Wangaráwa and the Bámbara call it Sáma-kanda, "kanda" meaning "country" or "district" in the Wákoré; and the Fúlbe, on account of the "swamp" which is formed here, Winde Sáme.

reclining on his "teshégit" or divan of reeds, and as soon as he beheld us, he rose and saluted El Waláti and me. He was a man of middle stature, and of tolerably stout proportions, his white beard, which looked forth from under the lithám, giving him a highly respectable appearance. He, however, did not show us any signs of hospitality, which vexed me the more, as, besides the considerable presents which I had sent to him a few days before, I had now again to make him another one, consisting of two túrkedís and a háf; but I soon found that he was not aware of the former presents having been sent by me.

Being an intelligent man, who had had dealings with a great many people, he had some slight suspicion that I was not what my companions represented me to be. While I was sitting in my tent reading attentively a passage referring to these regions in the excellent little book of Mr. Cooley on the Negroland of the Arabs, which has rendered me very great assistance in directing my inquiries in these countries, he made his appearance very abruptly, and seemed rather surprised at finding me reading characters which he well knew were not Arabic; but, nevertheless, he suppressed his suspicions. Perhaps in consequence of the intrigues of El Waláti, he laid claims to the horse which I myself rode. The eagerness of the women hereabout to obtain tobacco was very remarkable, and they pestered my servants during a great part of the night.

Saturday, August 27th. We set out on our last day's journey by land, in order to reach the place where

we were to embark on the river. Having emerged from the low swampy ground, we entered again sandy downs, principally clothed with háskanít, damankádda, and bú-rékkeba or *Panicum colonum*, and, having left on one side a smaller channel, we reached the branch of Fatta, which extends almost as far as Sarayámo, running parallel to several other creeks, called after the villages Kásba, Haibóngo, and Benesénga, which intersect the district named Bóddu.

The water at first formed a narrow irregular channel of about 200 yards wide, very much resembling an artificial canal, as is the case with a great many of these backwaters, but gradually it began to widen, affording excellent soil for the cultivation of rice. Between this channel and the river, there are several other branches, which appear to join the creek which I navigated from Sarayámo. Altogether, in this level part of the Niger, the river appears to spread out in a labyrinth of channels and watercourses. As for the rice which was grown here exclusively, it appeared to have been just sown with the assistance of the dew, which suffices for its growth till the river rises and spreads its inundation.

Here we passed a small village inhabited by a Tárki, or rather Kél-e'-súki, of the name of Mohammed Bonyámi, who has settled here with his property, and who, while we passed by, came out of his hut, and, astonished at my unusual appearance, and delighted at seeing a stranger from such a distance, entreated me in the kindest manner to

stay with him a short time, so that I had in consequence great difficulty in pursuing my march. He was a very decent and venerable-looking old man, of short stout figure, and with benevolent features, but his dress was of the simplest kind, consisting of a white tobe and a black shawl. A good many horses were pasturing hereabout, but not, as it would seem, to the advantage of the rice grounds, as they fed mostly on the young shoots. Having then left this watercourse at some distance on our right, we reached three miles further on the town of Sarayámo, the chief place in the province of Kíso. A great many people being here collected at the news of our arrival, we fired a salute with our pistols, and after a little search, owing to the very low entrances of most of the huts which would not admit my luggage, obtained tolerable quarters.

The town of Sarayámo is formed by an inner city, kasr or "koira," consisting of clay dwellings, very narrow and uncomfortable; and a large suburb on the east side formed of huts of large size, but all of them with very low doors. The courtyard where I was quartered was situated at the western border of this eastern suburb, on a sloping ground, descending towards a small ravine which separates the suburb from the kasr, and contained at the time a small quantity of dirty water. This situation had the disadvantage that, from the opposite slope, everything that was done in my courtyard could be observed, and there were a great many curious people,

especially among the rising generation, who obtruded not a little on my privacy.

I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when I received a great number of visits; and it was not long before Mohammed Bonyámi arrived, mounted on a white mare. As El Waláti had persuaded me to take only one horse to Timbúktu, I sent two of my animals with this man to remain with him until my leaving that place, while I also intrusted to his care my five camels, to be taken to a brother of his.

While I was conversing with these people, my friend the Háj Búda arrived also, with whom I continued to pass for a Syrian sherif, although he thought it strange that I would not say my prayers with him in the courtyard.

Sunday, August 28th.

Having enjoyed a good night's rest, tolerably free from mosquitoes, as I had shut my hut at an early hour, I took a walk down to the river, the morning being, as usual, cool and fresh, and a slight breeze having sprung up. The bank on which the town stands was, at present, from twenty-five to thirty feet above the level of the river; but this elevation is of course greatly diminished by the rising of the inundation, the river reaching generally to the very border of the village. That branch which is not in direct connection with the water of Fatta, along which our last day's march had lain, had no current, and was about 200 yards in breadth. The communication by water along these shallow backwaters of the immense Niger just opening (for

in the dry season the connection is interrupted), only one sea-worthy boat was lying here at the time, neither conspicuous for its size nor for its comfortable arrangement, and with two cabins of matting, one in the prow and one in the stern, while another boat, measuring forty feet by eight, was just repairing. All the craft are built of planks sewed or tied together in a very bungling manner.

I learned, on this occasion, that it is only at this season of the year that people go from here to Timbúktu, which lies almost exactly north from this place, by an eastern winding; while later in the season they follow a westerly branch. A labyrinth of creeks, backwaters, and channels is in this manner spread over the whole of this country, of which people had no previous idea.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters, when the governor, or emír, of the place came to pay me a visit. This man, whose name was 'Othmán, was a cheerful kind of person. He stands in direct subjection to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, without being dependent upon any other governor; and his province comprises some other places in the neighbourhood, such as Fatta, Horeséna, and Kabéka. Having made strict inquiries with regard to the present state of affairs in Stambúl, and having asked the news respecting the countries of the East in general, he left me, but returned again in the course of the afternoon, accompanied by the chief persons in the town, in order to solicit my aid in procuring rain. After a long conversation about the

rainy season, the quantity of rain which falls in different countries, and the tropical regions especially*, I felt myself obliged to say before them the "fat-há," or opening prayer of the Kurán; and, to their great amusement and delight, concluded the Arabic prayer with a form in their own language, — "Alla hokki ndíam,"—which, although meaning originally "God may give water," has become quite a complimentary phrase, so that the original meaning has been almost lost, few people only being conscious of it. It so happened that the ensuing night a heavy thunder-storm gathered from the east, bringing a considerable quantity of rain, which even found its way into my badly thatched hut. This apparent efficacy of my prayer induced the inhabitants to return the following day, to solicit from me a repetition of my performance; but I succeeded in evading their request by exhorting them to patience. But, on the other hand, I was obliged, in addition to a strong dose of emetic, to give the governor my blessing, as he was going to the capital, and was rather afraid of his liege lord the young prince A'hmedu, while at the same time his overbearing neighbours the Tawárek inspired him with a great deal of fear. In the sequel, he was very well received in the capital, and therefore could not complain of the inefficacy of my inspiration; but nevertheless, not having had the slightest suspicion

* On this occasion I learned from the Háj of Tisít, who was present, that in his desert town there are in general three falls of rain every year.

that I was not what I represented myself to be, he was much shocked when he afterwards learned that I was a Christian, to the great amusement of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who wrote to him repeatedly to the effect that he ought to be well pleased that so wicked a person as a Christian had procured him, not only rain, but even a good reception from his superior.

The town is tolerably flourishing, and the Fúlbe inhabitants, at least, possess a great number of horses. We counted, one evening, ninety returning from the pasture-grounds, while a good many more remained outside at a greater distance. The Fúlbe here belong to the following tribes: Urománge, Rilámbe, Oromanábe, Koirábe, Feroibe, Balámbe, Orohábe, and U'rube. The whole population of the place may amount to about 5000; but there did not appear to be many manufactures; even the native cloth, so well woven by the Songhay, is not manufactured here.

The situation of the town at this navigable branch, however, produces some activity, although no regular market appears to be held: and, the second day of my stay here, a large boat arrived from Timbúktu, with eighteen rás (a piece weighing about sixty pounds) of salt, a large parcel of tobacco, and a good number of passengers. Shells have currency here, and I bought rice for fourteen hundred shells and a túrkedí, at the rate of forty shells for each sáa, or measure. Rice constitutes the chief article of food, although on the west side of the town some negro-corn is cultivated. Milk is plentiful.

The town of Dár-e'-salám, or Dári, the residence of 'Abd-e'-rahmán, the son of Mohammed Lebbo, lying on the bank of the river itself, is at a distance of thirteen hours on horseback from here, equal to about thirty miles, by way of Taíba.

Having succeeded in hiring the boat which had come from Timbúktu for the exclusive use of my own party, for 10,000 shells, I prepared my luggage, which, although now greatly reduced from the respectable bulk which it presented when setting out from Kátsena, was still sufficient to inspire me with the hope that I might succeed in securing the friendship of the more influential chiefs of these regions: and in the evening of the last day of August I went on board of my small craft, and passed there a very comfortable night. The river, during the time of my residence in the place, had risen considerably, and soon promised to open the communication by the western branch.

Thursday, September 1st.

After a good deal of delay, we at length began our voyage about a quarter before eight in the morning; and I felt my spirits greatly cheered when I found myself floating on this river, or backwater, which was to carry me all the way to the harbour of Timbúktu. The river near the town forms a fine open sheet, widening to about 300 yards; but further on, as we were winding along in a north-easterly direction, it was greatly obstructed with rank grass, or rather býrgu, which very often covered the water entirely, so that the boat seemed to glide along a grassy plain. It was quite out of the question to

use oars. We were therefore reduced to the necessity of proceeding with poles, generally moving at the rate of two miles and a third an hour, but very often less Besides the býrgu, which constitutes the chief fodder for horse and cattle in all the districts along the Niger, and which even furnishes man with the sweet beverage called "ménshu" and a sort of honey called "kartu," white water-lilies, or *Nymphæa Lotus*, were in great quantities; and, between the latter, the water-plant "serranfúsa," which, being about ten inches long, floats on the water without having its roots fixed in the ground. But, after a voyage of about three miles, we emerged from the reedy water of Sarayámo into a more open branch, said to be that of Bámbara, which here joined it. According to some of my informants, this water is identical with the Gérru, which I have mentioned on a former occasion. Here the eastern bank became quite free from reed-grass, while a herd of gazelles was to be seen near the shore; the western bank, meanwhile, being adorned with numerous dúm-palms, gáwo, and tamarind trees, or, as they are called here, busúsu; while, further on, the ascending ground was covered with "tunfáfia" (*Asclepias gigantea*), "retem" (or broom), and "damankádda." But after a while, when rank grass again began to prevail, this arm also became greatly obstructed, being separated by the grass into several branches. The water being only from five to seven feet deep, we proceeded rather slowly onward, winding along in a northerly direction, at times diverging more to the

west, at others more to the east; till about an hour after noon we reached the small town of Fatta, situated on the eastern shore, and surrounded by extensive rice-grounds, where the people were busy with the labours of the field.

The river here changes its direction to the west, being probably joined by another branch, which, however, I did not see, and we began steering in that direction, soothing our disappointment at not moving directly towards the object of our voyage with the animated songs of our boatmen, who accompanied the movements of their oars with a barbarous, but not unmelodious, account of the deeds of the great A'skia. A great many herds of cattle were to be seen on the left or southern side of the river, and gave life to the scenery. Our living also was not so bad, a couple of fine fishes, which we had succeeded in buying from some fishermen, having been prepared over the fire and affording us an excellent dinner.

The farther we proceeded onward the more the channel widened, becoming free from reeds, although occasionally adorned by a floating layer of water-lilies. However, beyond the village of Gurijígge, or Guridígge, the current became so strong that, in order to avoid it, we chose rather to enter the reeds, which broke the force of the water. It is natural that, as this is not a river of itself fed by its own sources, but merely a backwater caused by the overflow of the great river, the current in general must come from the latter, and proceed inland.

Having kept for some time along the reed-grass of the southern shore in a winding direction, we again emerged into open water, where the poles of our boatmen, which measured about eighteen feet in length, found no bottom; and we kept steadily on, although occasionally quite alarmed by our south-westerly direction, which threatened to carry us rather to Hamda-Alláhi than to Timbúktu; till at length, a few miles on this side of the town of Goilo, we changed our direction to W.N.W., and, passing some floating reed islands, seemed to be in a fair direction to reach the chief object of our journey. But a storm that had been gathering induced us with the approach of night to moor the boat in a wide grassy creek of the eastern shore, in order to shelter ourselves from the strong wind, which easily upsets this light craft. Four fishing-boats were lying not far from us, and with their lights gave us a feeling of society; but the numerous swarms of mosquitoes molested us not a little, and the barking of an animal in the water greatly excited my curiosity. On inquiry, I learned that it proceeded from the young alligators, or rather zangway.

These boats have no means of approaching the shallow shore. Hence it is necessary for the passengers, two or three times a day, to wade through deep water backwards and forwards. This, coupled with the great quantity of water continually filling the bottom of these boats, is the reason why all the people who travel along the Niger are subject to

rheumatism. The governor of Sáy, as I have already mentioned, in consequence of his voyage up the river to Gágho, had become quite lame.

Friday, September 2nd.

It was a quarter to seven o'clock in the morning when we left the sea of reeds in which we had moored our vessel, which, in the absence of an anchor, is done by fixing a pole on each side of the prow, and one at the stern of the boat. We began our day's voyage by slowly gliding along the river, by the strength of a local current, which ran at the rate of about two miles an hour; but soon our boatmen began to make use of their oars, and we advanced with more rapidity. The open channel was here quite close to the eastern shore, the uniform level of which was broken by a hilly eminence covered with fine fields of millet, when we saw upon our left a smaller arm of the considerable channel running from the south-west. This, on inquiry, I found was in connection with that very watercourse which, at a later season, forms the general high road of those people who go from Sarayámo to Timbúktu. Even at this season of the year this branch is preferred by those who come from the north. Having passed this branch we halted awhile at the western shore, where, at a short distance inland, there is a small village called Koito, surrounded by fine trees.

After a short delay we set out again on our zigzag voyage, while one of our boatmen, his harpoon in hand, proceeded on a fishing expedition. From

a wide open water we soon got into a narrow channel, while the grassy expanse spread out on each side to a great extent; and, making our way with great difficulty, we emerged into a wide open branch, much more considerable than the one along which our course had lain, it being the principal trunk of the westerly watercourse of Sarayámo. As soon as we had entered it, some large specimens of the alligator tribe afforded proofs of a more extensive sheet of water, while the current, which at first was running against us, was so considerable that we advanced rather slowly. The whole breadth of the river or channel, forming one large unbroken sheet of water, was certainly not less than from 600 to 700 yards, while the depth in the midst of the channel, at least as far as I had an opportunity of judging from the poles of our boatmen, measured fourteen feet and a half, and at times even as much as eighteen, and probably more. The banks were enlivened by men and horses, and we passed an encampment of herdsmen with their cattle. The western shore especially was adorned with a profusion of dúm-palms, besides fine tamarind trees, sarkakáya, and others of unknown species. Thus repeatedly delayed by shifting sands obstructing the channel of the river, we moved on in a tolerably direct northerly course, till we reached the village of Menesengay, situated on sandy downs about twenty feet high, beyond a deep gulf of the westerly shore. The low grassy ground on the eastern side formed the

place of resort for numbers of pelicans, and the lower ground emerging at present only three feet out of the water, was enlivened by numbers of water-birds, which were looking out greedily for their prey.

Here we again changed our course, following a great many windings, but proceeding generally in an easterly direction. But now the watercourse began to exhibit more and more the character of a noble river, bordered by strongly marked banks, clad with fine timber, chiefly tamarind and kaña trees, and occasionally enlivened by cattle. Our voyage was very delightful, gliding, as we were, smoothly along the surface of the water, and keeping mostly in the middle of the noble stream, our boatmen only changing their course once to touch at the northern shore, in order to procure for a few shells the luxury of some kola nuts, of which even these poor people were by no means insensible. At length, having passed between the villages of Haibóngu on the northern, and Dára-kaina on the southern, shore, we again exchanged our south-easterly direction for a more northerly one, proceeding along a very broad watercourse; but, after a while, the open water was broken by a broad grassy island, which left only a small channel on the west side, while that on the east was of tolerable width. Meanwhile the evening was approaching, and we met with several delays, once in order to buy some fish, and another time on account of our boatmen having lost their harpoon, with which they occasionally endeavoured to catch some large species

of fish which were swimming alongside our boat. They were very dexterous in diving, although it required some time for them to ascertain the spot where the slender instrument had been fixed in the bottom. This harpoon was exactly similar to the double spear used by some divisions of the Batta, one of the tribes of A'damáwa, such as the Bágelé, and even by some of the inhabitants of Bórnu.

We had now entered a splendid reach of the river, which, almost free from reeds, extended in an easterly direction, and we glided pleasantly along the smooth water at a short distance from the northern bank, which was thickly clad with trees; till at length, darkness setting in, we struck right across the whole breadth of the river, which now, in the quiet of the evening, spread out its smooth unrippled surface like a beautiful mirror, and which at this place was certainly not less than 1000 yards broad, straight for the evening fires of the village Banáy, which was situated on the opposite bank, and we moored our vessel at the north-easterly bend of the gulf round which the town is situated. Most of our party slept on shore, while others made themselves as comfortable as possible in the boat, and on the top of the matting which formed the cabins.

Here we awoke the next morning with a beautiful clear sky, and quietly enjoyed for a few hours the fine river scenery, bordered by a rich belt of vegetation, while our boatmen endeavoured to replace one of their poles, which they had broken, by a new one,

and after some time succeeded in getting one which measured twenty-one feet. The town or village itself is inhabited by Songhay and Fúlbe, the latter being in possession of numerous flocks and herds. The cattle being just collected on the sandy beach near the river, were milked soon after sunrise, and furnished me with a draught of that delicious beverage, which must always constitute one of the greatest luxuries to a European traveller in these countries.

The chief part of the village extended along the bay to the south, at the point where we had moored our boat; but there was a suburb of detached huts, chiefly inhabited by Tawárek, and this part of the shore was beautifully adorned with large trees. When we at length continued our voyage, we observed also a great many dúm-palms, which served to further embellish the country, while kadéña, or tóso, seemed to form the staple produce of the inhabitants, and thickly lined the shores. The scenery was the more interesting, as, besides boys who were playing in the water, a numerous herd of cattle were just swimming across the river, which to animals not accustomed to such a task, would have been rather a difficult undertaking; and, even as it was, the people who accompanied them in boats had some difficulty in inducing them to continue their fatiguing trip when they once began to feel exhausted, especially as they were accompanied by their young calves. However, in these regions along the Niger, with its numerous channels, backwaters, and swamps, man as well as beast must be accustomed

to swimming. I took great pains to discover whether there was any current here, but I did not succeed in ascertaining the fact; and altogether, in this network of creeks and backwaters, the current seems to be very uncertain, going in on one side and out on the other, notwithstanding that we were now approaching the trunk of the river, following in general a northerly direction with a slight westerly deviation. The gradually sloping bank was here covered with the dense rich bush called bógina by the Songhay.

But at present these shores, once animated with the bustle of many larger and smaller villages of the native Songhay, were buried in silence and solitude, a turbulent period of almost 200 years having succeeded to the epoch when the great Songhay king, Mohammed el Háj A'skia, held the whole of these regions under his powerful sway. No less than four dwelling-places* along this tract of the river had been destroyed on one and the same day by the father of Galáijo, the prince whom we had met on our journey a short distance from Sáy. A solitary antelope, with her young, was the only living being in the present state of desolation that we observed during several hours' navigation, but the banks were occasionally lined with fine trees. Besides the tamarind tree, a tree called bógi appeared in great quantities; it bears a yellow fruit about the size of a pear, having four or five large kernels, and which, on

* These places are Bango, Ujínne, Gakoira, and another one.

account of its pleasant acid taste, afforded us a very refreshing treat.

Having met with a short delay, in consequence of a thunderstorm which brought us but little rain, we observed the island of Kóra, which lies at the mouth of this channel, and the main river ahead of us, the water increasing in breadth, while one arm branches off round the south-western part of the island, presenting here the appearance of an inland sea. But we had scarcely caught a glimpse of the great river itself, when a second and heavier thunderstorm, which had long been gathering, threatened to break forth, and obliged us to seek shelter in the grassy eastern shore of the main. We had scarcely fastened the boat, when the rain came down in torrents, and lasted with great violence for nearly two hours, so that my berth was entirely swamped, and I remained in a most uncomfortable state during the whole of the night.

Sunday, September 4th.

The weather having cleared up, we set out at an early hour, following a north-easterly direction through an open water not obstructed by reeds, but soon halted again for prayer near the green bushy shore; while from the opposite side of the island of Kóra, the lowing of cattle, cackling of fowls, and the voices of men were distinctly to be heard, the island being still tolerably well inhabited and the people being said to possess even a good number of horses. It was of considerable interest to me here to fall into the course pursued by that very meritorious French traveller, Réné Caillié, on his toil-

some and dangerous journey through the whole western part of the continent of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Morocco; and it is an agreeable duty for me to confirm the general accuracy of his account. Following close upon the track of the enterprising and intelligent, but unfortunate Major Laing, who had been assassinated two years previously on his desperate journey from Timbúktu, Caillié naturally excited against himself the jealousy of the English, to whom it could not but seem extraordinary that a poor unprotected adventurer like himself should succeed in an enterprise where one of the most courageous and nobleminded officers of their army had succumbed.

Gliding slowly along the channel, which here was about 600 yards in width, and gradually exchanging the eastern shore for the middle of the stream, we observed after a few miles' advance the first river-horses, or banga, that we had as yet seen in the Niger, carrying their heads out of the water like two immense boxes, and rather frightening our boatmen, who did not seem to relish a *tête-à tête* with these animals, till I sent a ball after them.

Passing then the site of the former town of Gakoira, near which the people were busy with the labours of the rice-fields, and having again landed on the opposite shore, which was covered with numerous kalgo trees, in order that the lazy boatmen might get their breakfast with comfort and ease, we had to follow a large bend of the river where the town of Danga is situated

on the right, beyond a swampy low ground. This is probably the same town so repeatedly mentioned in the interesting records of Bábá A'hmed, especially as the residence of the Púllo chief, Sambo Lámido, who at the period of the ruin of the Songhay empire was the chief instrument in achieving that destruction. We then crossed from here to the other side, and passed the town of Sanyáre on a projecting headland, which at times appears to be changed into an island, and containing, besides a good number of reed huts, even a few clay dwellings. Here our people indulged in the hope of procuring some tobacco, but were sadly disappointed, the natives being too much afraid of their fanatical master, the Shékho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu.

Having left this village behind us, we entered a fine northerly reach belonging to the branch which was finally to carry us into the great river itself, and left the town of Sanyáre beyond the shallow sandbank, conspicuous on account of a group of majestic tamarind trees. Here the inhabitants wanted to barter some sour milk for negro corn, which to them, with their ordinary diet of rice, seemed to be a luxury. Having lost some time, we at length had the broad sheet of the Niger before us; and here, at the point of junction, there started forth from the easterly shore a group of solitary trees, which appeared to form the usual nocturnal place of resort for all the water-fowl in the neighbourhood, the trunk as well as the branches of the trees being

overlaid with a white crust formed by the droppings of these visitors, which with animated cries were collecting together towards the close of the evening. Having here left the shore, which at present formed a low and bare headland, but which in the course of a month would be entirely under water, we at once entered the middle of that magnificent river the I'sa, or Máyo Balléo, running here from W. 35° S. to E. 35° N., which has excited the lively curiosity of Europeans for so many years. It was at this spot about a mile across, and by its magnitude and solemn magnificence in the new moon which was rising in front of us, and with the summer lightning at times breaking through the evening sky, inspired my servants with real awe and almost fright; while we were squatting on the shelving roof of our frail boat, and looked with searching eyes along the immense expanse of the river in a north-easterly direction, where the object of our journey was said to lie.

Whether from the excitement of the day, or from the previous night's wetting, when at length we lay to at the ancient Songhay town of Koiretágo, which had once been a place of importance, but had been almost destroyed by the Fúlbe in conjunction with the Tárki chief Somki, I was seized with a severe attack of fever, but in order to take care of my luggage I was unwilling to go on shore, where I might have lain down on a fine sandy beach, choosing rather to remain on board our frail boat.

CHAP. LXV.

ARRIVAL AT KÁBARA. — ENTRANCE INTO TIMBÚKTU.

THUS the day broke which, after so many months' exertion, was to carry me to the harbour of Timbúktu. We started at a tolerably early hour, crossing the broad sheet of the river, first in a north-easterly, then in an almost northerly direction, till finding ourselves opposite the small hamlet Tásakal, mentioned by Caillié *, we began to keep along the windings of the northern bank which, from its low character, presented a very varying appearance, while a creek, separating from the trunk, entered the low ground. The river a month or two later in the season inundates the whole country to a great distance, but the magnificent stream, with the exception of a few fishing-boats, now seemed almost tenantless, the only objects which in the present reduced state of the country animated the scenery being a number of large boats lying at anchor in front of us near the shore of the village Koróme. But the whole character of the river was of the highest interest to me, as it dis-

September 7th, 1853.

* Caillié's Journey to Timbúktu, vol. ii. p. 30.

closed some new features for which I had not been prepared; for, while the water on which Koróme was situated formed only by far the smaller branch, the chief river, about three quarters of a mile in breadth, took its direction to the south-east, separated from the former by a group of islands called Day, at the headland of which lies the islet of Tárashám.*

It was with an anxious feeling that I bade farewell to that noble river as it turned away from us, not being sure whether it would fall to my lot to explore its further course, although it was my firm intention at the time to accomplish this task if possible. Thus we entered the branch of Koróme, keeping along the grass which here grows in the river to a great extent, till we reached the village, consisting of nothing but temporary huts of reed, which, in the course of a few weeks, with the rising of the waters, were to be removed further inland. Notwithstanding its frail character, this poor little village was interesting on account of its wharfs, where a number of boats were repairing. The master of our own craft residing here (for all the boatmen on this river are serfs, or nearly in that condition), we were obliged to halt almost an hour and a half; but in order not to excite the curiosity of the people, I thought it prudent to remain in my boat. But even there I was incommoded with a great number of visitors, who were very anxious to know exactly

* "Tárashám" means a house or dwelling.

what sort of person I was. It was here that we heard the unsatisfactory news that El Bakáy, whose name as a just and intelligent chief alone had given me confidence to undertake this journey, was absent at the time in Gúndam, whither he had gone in order to settle a dispute which had arisen between the Tawárek and the Berabísh; and as from the very beginning, when I was planning my journey to Timbúktu, I had based the whole confidence of my success upon the noble and trustworthy character which was attributed to the Sheikh El Bakáy by my informants, this piece of information produced a serious effect upon me.

At length we set out again on our interesting voyage, following first a south-easterly, then a north-easterly direction along this branch, which, for the first three miles and a half, retained some importance, being here about 200 yards wide, when the channel divided a second time, the more considerable branch turning off towards Yélluwa and Zegália, and other smaller hamlets situated on the islands of Day, while the watercourse which we followed dwindled away to a mere narrow meadow-water, bearing the appearance of an artificial ditch or canal, which, as I now heard, is entirely dry during the dry season, so that it becomes impossible to embark directly at Kábara for places situated higher up or lower down the river. But at that time I had formed the erroneous idea that this canal never became navigable for more than four months in the year,

and thence concluded that it would have been impossible for Caillié to have reached Kábara in his boat in the month of April. The navigation of this water became so difficult, that all my people were obliged to leave the boat, which, with great difficulty was dragged on by the boatmen, who themselves entered the water and lifted and pushed it along with their hands. But before we reached Kábara, which is situated on the slope of a sandy eminence, the narrow and shallow channel widened to a tolerably large basin of circular shape; and here, in front of the town, seven good-sized boats were lying, giving to the whole place some little life. Later in the season, when the channel becomes navigable for larger boats, the intercourse becomes much more animated. During the palmy days of the Songhay empire, an uninterrupted intercourse took place between Gágho and Timbúktu on the one side, and between Timbúktu and Jenni on the other, and a numerous fleet was always lying here under the orders of an admiral of great power and influence. The basin has such a regular shape, that it looks as if it were artificial; but, nevertheless, it may be the work of nature, as Kábara from the most ancient times has been the harbour of Timbúktu, and at times seems even to have been of greater importance than the latter place itself.

A branch of the river turns off to the east, without however reaching the main trunk, so that in

general, except when the whole country is inundated, boats from Kábara which are going down the river must first return in a south-westerly direction towards Koróme, in order to reach the main branch. Even at the present time, however, when this whole region is plunged into an abyss of anarchy and misrule, the scene was not entirely wanting in life; for women were filling their pitchers or washing clothes on large stones jutting out from the water, while a number of idle people had collected on the beach to see who the stranger was that had just arrived.

At length we lay to, and sending two of my people on shore, in order to obtain quarters, I followed them as soon as possible, when I was informed that they had procured a comfortable dwelling for me. The house where I was lodged was a large and grand building (if we take into account the general relations of this country), standing on the very top of the mound on the slope of which the town is situated. It was of an oblong shape, consisting of very massive clay walls, which were even adorned, in a slight degree, with a rude kind of relief; and it included, besides two anterooms, an inner courtyard, with a good many smaller chambers, and an upper story. The interior, with its small stores of every kind, and its assortment of sheep, ducks, fowls, and pigeons, in different departments, resembled Noah's ark, and afforded a cheerful sight of homely comfort which had been preserved here from more ancient and

better times, notwithstanding the exactions of Fúlbe and Imóshagh.

Having taken possession of the two ante-rooms for my people and luggage, I endeavoured to make myself as comfortable as possible; while the busy landlady, a tall and stout personage, in the absence of her husband, a wealthy Songhay merchant, endeavoured to make herself agreeable, and offered me the various delicacies of her store for sale; but these were extremely scanty, the chief attraction to us, besides a small bowl of milk seasoned with honey, being some onions, of which I myself was not less in want than my people for seasoning our simple food; but fresh ones were not even to be got here, the article sold being a peculiar preparation which is imported from Sansándi, the onions, which are of very small size, being cut into slices and put in water, then pounded in a wooden mortar, dried again, and, by means of some butter, made up into a sort of round ball, which is sold in small pats of an inch and a half in diameter for five shells each: these are called "láwashi" in Fulfúlde, or "gabú" in the Songhay language. Besides this article, so necessary for seasoning the food, I bought a little bulánga, or vegetable butter, in order to light up the dark room where I had taken up my quarters; but the night which I passed here was a very uncomfortable one, on account of the number of mosquitoes which infest the whole place.

Thus broke the 6th of September,—a very important day for me, as it was to determine the kind of

reception I was to meet with in this quarter. But notwithstanding the uncertainty of my prospects, I felt cheerful and full of confidence; and, as I was now again firmly established on dry soil, I went early in the morning to see my horse, which had successfully crossed all the different branches lying between Kábara and Sarayámo; but I was sorry to find him in a very weak and emaciated condition.

While traversing the village, I was surprised at the many clay buildings which are to be seen here, amounting to between 150 and 200; however, these are not so much the dwellings of the inhabitants of Kábara themselves, but serve rather as magazines for storing up the merchandise belonging to the people of, and the foreign merchants residing in, Timbúktu and Sansándi. There are two small market-places, one containing about twelve stalls or sheds, where all sorts of articles are sold, the other being used exclusively for meat. Although it was still early in the day, women were already busy boiling rice, which is sold in small portions, or made up into thin cakes boiled with bulánga, and sold for five shells each. Almost all the inhabitants, who may muster about 2000, are Songhay; but the authorities belong to the tribe of the Fúlbe, whose principal wealth consists of cattle, the only exception being the office of the inspector of the harbour,—a very ancient office, repeatedly mentioned by A'hmed Bábá,—which at present is in the hands of Múláy Kásim, a sheríf whose family is said to have emigrated originally from the Gharb or

Morocco, but who has become so Sudánised that he has forgotten all his former knowledge of Arabic. On account of the cattle being driven to a great distance, I found that milk was very scarce and dear. The inhabitants cultivate a little rice, but have some cotton, besides bámia, or *Corchorus olitorius*, and melons of various descriptions.

Having returned to my quarters from my walk through the town, I had to distribute several presents to some people whom El Waláti chose to represent as his brothers and friends. Having then given to himself a new, glittering, black tobe of Núpe manufacture, a new "háf," and the white bernús which I wore myself, I at length prevailed upon him to set out for the town, in order to obtain protection for me; for as yet I was an outlaw in the country, and any ruffian who suspected my character might have slain me, without scarcely anybody caring anything about it; and circumstances seemed to assume a very unfavourable aspect: for there was a great movement among the Tawárek in the neighbourhood, when it almost seemed as if some news of my real character had transpired. Not long after my two messengers were gone, a Tárki chief, of the name of Knéha, with tall and stately figure, and of noble expressive features, as far as his shawl around the face allowed them to be seen, but, like the whole tribe of the Kél-hekíkan to which he belongs, bearing a very bad character as a freebooter, made his appearance, armed with spear and sword, and obtruded himself upon me while I was

partaking of my simple dish of rice; notwithstanding which, he took his seat at a short distance opposite to me. Not wishing to invite him to a share in my poor frugal repast by the usual "bismillah," I told him, first in Arabic and then in Fulfúlde, that I was dining, and had no leisure to speak with him at present. Whereupon he took his leave, but returned after a short while, and, in a rather peremptory manner, solicited a present from me, being, as he said, a great chief of the country; but as I was not aware of the extent of his power, and being also afraid that others might imitate his example, I told him that I could not give him anything before I had made due inquiries respecting his real importance from my companion who had just gone to the town. But he was not at all satisfied with my argument; representing himself as a great "dhálem," or evil-doer, and that as such he might do me much harm; till at length, after a very spirited altercation, I got rid of him.

He was scarcely gone, when the whole house was filled with armed men, horse and foot, from Timbúktu, most of them clad in light blue tobes, tightly girt round the waist with a shawl, and dressed in short breeches reaching only to the knee, as if they were going to fight, their head being covered with a straw hat of the peculiar shape of a little hut with regular thatchwork, such as is fashionable among the inhabitants of Másina and of the provinces further west. They were armed with spears, besides which some of them wore also a sword: only a few of them

had muskets. Entering the house rather abruptly, and squatting down in the ante-chambers and courtyard, just where they could find a place, they stared at me not a little, and began asking of each other who this strange-looking fellow might be, while I was reclining on my two smaller boxes, having my larger ones and my other luggage behind me. I was rather at a loss to account for their intrusion, until I learned, upon inquiry from my landlady, that they were come in order to protect their cattle from the Tawárek, who at the time were passing through the place, and who had driven away some of their property. The very person whom they dreaded was the chief Knéha, who had just left me, though they could not make out his whereabouts. Having refreshed themselves during the hot hours of the day, these people started off; but the alarm about the cattle continued the whole of the afternoon, and not less than 200 armed men came into my apartments in the course of an hour.

My messengers not returning at the appointed time from their errand to the town, I had at length retired to rest in the evening, when shortly before midnight they arrived, together with Sídi A'lawáte, the Sheikh El Bakáy's brother, and several of his followers, who took up their quarters on the terrace of my house in order to be out of the reach of the mosquitoes; and after they had been regaled with a good supper, which had been provided beforehand by some of the townspeople, I went to pay my respects to them.

It was an important interview; for, although this was not the person for whom my visit was specially intended, and whose favourable or unfavourable disposition would influence the whole success of my arduous undertaking, yet for the present I was entirely in his hands, and all depended upon the manner in which he received me. Now my two messengers had only disclosed to himself personally, that I was a Christian, while at the same time they had laid great stress upon the circumstance that, although a Christian, I was under the special protection of the Sultan of Stambúl; and Sídi A'lawáte inquired therefore of me, with great earnestness and anxiety, as to the peculiar manner in which I enjoyed the protection of that great Mohammedan sovereign.

Now it was most unfortunate for me that I had no direct letter from that quarter. Even the firmán with which we had been provided by the Bashá of Tripoli had been delivered to the governor for whom it was destined, so that at the time I had nothing with me to show but a firmán which I had used on my journey in Egypt, and which of course had no especial relation to the case in question. The want of such a general letter of protection from the Sultan of Constantinople, which I had solicited with so much anxiety to be sent after me, was in the sequel the chief cause of my difficult and dangerous position in Timbúktu; for, furnished with such a letter, it would have been easy to have imposed silence upon my adversaries and enemies there, and especially upon the

merchants from Morocco, who were instigated by the most selfish jealousy to raise all sorts of intrigues against me.

Having heard my address with attention, although I was not able to establish every point so clearly as I could have wished, the sheikh's brother promised me protection, and desired me to be without any apprehension with regard to my safety; and thus terminated my first interview with this man, who, on the whole, inspired me with a certain degree of confidence, although I was glad to think that he was not the man upon whom I had to rely for my safety. Having then had a further chat with his telamíd or pupils, with whom I passed for a Mohammedan, I took leave of the party and retired to rest in the close apartments of the lower story of the house.

Wednesday, September 7th. After a rather restless night, the day broke when I was at length to enter Timbúktu; but we had a good deal of trouble in performing this last short stage of our journey, deprived as we were of beasts of burden; for the two camels which the people had brought from the town in order to carry my boxes, proved much too weak, and it was only after a long delay that we were able to procure eleven donkeys for the transport of all my luggage. Meanwhile the rumour of a traveller of importance having arrived had spread far and wide, and several inhabitants of the place sent a breakfast both for myself and my protector. Just at the moment when we were at length mounting our horses,

it seemed as if the Tárki chief Knéha was to cause me some more trouble, for in the morning he had sent me a vessel of butter in order thus to acquire a fair claim upon my generosity; and coming now for his reward, he was greatly disappointed when he heard that the present had fallen into the hands of other people.

It was ten o'clock when our cavalcade at length put itself in motion, ascending the sandhills which rise close behind the village of Kábara, and which, to my great regret, had prevented my obtaining a view of the town from the top of our terrace. The contrast of this desolate scenery with the character of the fertile banks of the river which I had just left behind was remarkable. The whole tract bore decidedly the character of a desert, although the path was thickly lined on both sides with thorny bushes and stunted trees, which were being cleared away in some places in order to render the path less obstructed and more safe, as the Tawárek never fail to infest it, and at present were particularly dreaded on account of their having killed a few days previously three petty Tawáti traders on their way to A'rawán. It is from the unsafe character of this short road between the harbour and the town, that the spot, about halfway between Kábara and Timbúktu, bears the remarkable name of "Ur-immándes," "he does not hear," meaning the place where the cry of the unfortunate victim is not heard from either side.

Having traversed two sunken spots designated by

especial names, where, in certain years when the river rises to an unusual height, as happened in the course of the same winter, the water of the inundation enters and occasionally forms even a navigable channel; and leaving on one side the talha tree of the Welí Sálah, covered with innumerable rags of the superstitious natives, who expect to be generously rewarded by their saint with a new shirt, we approached the town: but its dark masses of clay not being illuminated by bright sunshine, for the sky was thickly overcast and the atmosphere filled with sand, were scarcely to be distinguished from the sand and rubbish heaped all round; and there was no opportunity for looking attentively about, as a body of people were coming towards us in order to pay their compliments to the stranger and bid him welcome. This was a very important moment, as, if they had felt the slightest suspicion with regard to my character, they might easily have prevented my entering the town at all, and thus even endangered my life.

I therefore took the hint of A'lawáte, who recommended me to make a start in advance in order to anticipate the salute of these people who had come to meet us; and putting my horse to a gallop, and gun in hand, I galloped up to meet them, when I was received with many saláms. But a circumstance occurred which might have proved fatal, not only to my enterprise, but even to my own personal safety, as there was a man among the group who addressed me in Turkish, which I had almost entirely forgotten;

so that I could with difficulty make a suitable answer to his compliment; but avoiding farther indiscreet questions, I pushed on in order to get under safe cover.

Having then traversed the rubbish which has accumulated round the ruined clay wall of the town, and left on one side a row of dirty reed huts which encompass the whole of the place, we entered the narrow streets and lanes, or, as the people of Timbúktu say, the tijeráten, which scarcely allowed two horses to proceed abreast. But I was not a little surprised at the populous and wealthy character which this quarter of the town, the Sáne-Gúngu, exhibited, many of the houses rising to the height of two stories, and in their façade evincing even an attempt at architectural adornment. Thus, taking a more westerly turn, and followed by a numerous troop of people, we passed the house of the Sheikh El Bakáy, where I was desired to fire a pistol; but as I had all my arms loaded with ball I prudently declined to do so, and left it to one of my people to do honour to the house of our host. We thus reached the house on the other side of the street, which was destined for my residence, and I was glad when I found myself safely in my new quarters.

But before describing my residence in this town, I shall make a few general remarks with regard to the history of Songhay and Timbúktu.

CHAP. LXVI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF SONGHAY AND TIMBÚKTU.

Previously to my journey into the region of the Niger, scarcely any data were known with regard to the history of this wide and important tract, except a few isolated facts, elicited with great intelligence and research by Mr. Cooley* from El Bekrí, the history of Ebn Khaldún, the obscure and confused report of Leo about the great Ischia, and the barren statement of the conquest of Timbúktu and Gágho, or Gógo, by Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi, as mentioned by some historians of Morocco and Spain. But I myself was so successful as to have an opportunity of perusing a complete history of the kingdom of Songhay, from the very dawn of historical records down to the year 1640 of our era; although, unfortunately, circumstances prevented my bringing back a complete copy of this manuscript, which forms a respectable quarto volume, and I was only able, during the few days that I had this manuscript in my hands during my stay in Gandó, to make short extracts of those passages from its contents which I thought of

* Cooley, "Negroland of the Arabs."

the highest interest in an historical and geographical point of view.

These annals, according to the universal statement of the learned people of Negroland, were written by a distinguished person of the name of A'hmed Bábá, although in the work itself that individual is only spoken of in the third person; and it would seem that additions had been made to the book by another hand; but on this point I cannot speak with certainty, as I had not sufficient time to read over the latter portion of the work with the necessary attention and care. As for A'hmed Bábá, we know from other interesting documents which have lately come to light*, that he was a man of great learning, considering the country in which he was born, having composed a good many books or essays, and instructed a considerable number of pupils. Moreover, we learn that he was a man of the highest respectability, so that even after he had been carried away prisoner by the victorious army of Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi, his very enemies treated him with the greatest respect, and the inhabitants of Morocco, in general, regarded him with the highest veneration.†

* Revue Africaine, vol. i. p. 287, "Conquête du Soudan par les Marocains," par le Baron Macguckin de Slane. Journal Asiatique, 1855, "Litérature du Soudan," par M. le Professor Cherbonneau.

† This character is most strikingly indicated in those very remarks which M. le Baron de Slane has published in the notice (see preceding note) which was intended to depreciate the merit of A'hmed Bábá as a historian.

This character of the author would alone be sufficient to guarantee the trustworthiness of his history, as far as he was able to go back into the past with any degree of accuracy, from the oral traditions of the people, or from written documents of an older period: for that the beginning of his annals, like that of every other nation, should be enveloped in a certain degree of mystery and uncertainty is very natural, and our author himself is prudent enough to pass over the earlier part in the most rapid and cursory manner, only mentioning the mere name of each king, except that he states the prominent facts with regard to the founder of each dynasty. Nay, even what he says of the founder of the dynasty of the Zá, allowance being made for the absurd interpretation of names, which is usual with Arabs and Orientals in general, and also the particulars which he gives with regard to Kilun, or Kilnu, founder of the dynasty of the Sonni*, is very characteristic, and certainly true in the main. For there is no doubt that the founder of the first dynasty immigrated from a foreign country,—a circumstance which is confirmed by other accounts,—and nothing is more probable than that he abolished the most striking features of pagan superstition, namely, the worship of a peculiar kind of fish, which was probably the famous ayú, or *Manatus*, of which I have spoken on a former occasion†, and of whose

* According to Leo, this dynasty emigrated from Lybia.

† Vol. II. p. 507.

habitat in the waters of the Niger I shall say more further on; while 'Alí Killun succeeded in usurping the royal power by liberating his country from the sovereignty of the kings of Melle, who had conquered Songhay about the middle of the fourteenth century. Nor can there be any doubt of the truth of the statement that Zá-Kasí, the fifteenth king of the dynasty of the Zá, about the year 400 of the Hejra, or in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, embraced Islám, and was the first Mohammedan king of Songhay. No man who studies impartially those very extracts which I have been able to make from the manuscript, in great haste and under the most unfavourable circumstances, and which were translated and published in the journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society* by Mr. Ralfs, can deny that they contain a vast amount of valuable information. But the knowledge which Europeans possessed of those countries, before my discoveries, was so limited, as to render the greater part of the contents of my extracts, which are intimately related to localities formerly entirely unknown, or in connection with historical facts not better ascertained, difficult of comprehension. But with the light now shed by my journey and my researches over these regions and their inhabitants, I have no hesitation in asserting that the work of A'hmed Bábá will be one of the most important additions which the present age has made to the

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 518.

history of mankind, in a branch which was formerly almost unknown.

A'hmed Bábá, however, limits himself to the records of the political relations of Songhay, and does not enter into any ethnological questions, leaving us entirely in the dark as to the original seats of the tribe; for while in general, on the banks of the Niger, the towns of Tindírma and Díre are supposed to be the original seats of the Songhay, A'hmed Bábá apparently restricts the limits of the ancient Songhay to the eastern quarter around Kúkiya, stating distinctly* that the town of Timbúktu was not under the authority of any foreign king before it became subjected to the dominion of Kunkur-Músa, the celebrated king of Melle. Yet from this statement we cannot conclude with absolute certainty that the banks of the great river to the south-west of that town were not comprised in the kingdom of Songhay before that period; for Timbúktu, lying on the north side of the river, and being founded by the Tawárek or Imóshagh, was an independent place by itself, and in the beginning not closely connected with the history of the surrounding region. It might easily have happened, therefore, that the Songhay language was not at all spoken in Timbúktu at a former period, without any conclusion being drawn from this circumstance respecting the country to the south and south-west of the river. But although, according to A'hmed Bábá's account, the foundation of the place was entirely

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 525.

due to the Imóshagh, it is probable that, from the very beginning, a portion of the inhabitants of the town belonged to the Songhay nation*; and I rather suppose, therefore, that the original form of the name was the Songhay form Túmbutu, from whence the Imóshagh made Tumbýtku, which was afterwards changed by the Arabs into Tumbuktu.†

But the series of chronological facts which we learn from A'hmed Bábá, or from other sources, I shall give in a tabular form in the Appendix. Here I will only draw the reader's attention to a few of the most striking facts, and make some general remarks on the character of that history.

It is very remarkable, that while Islám in the two larger westerly kingdoms which flourished pre-

* "The palace which was erected in Timbúktu was called 'm'aduk,' or 'm'adugu.' This is evidently a Mandingo word, meaning 'the house of the king;' but it was certainly called so in the language of the conquerors, and not in that of the natives, and A'hmed Bábá understands the former when he says that the building was called by this name in *their* language."—*Journal of Leipsic Oriental Society*, ix. p. 525.

† The *u* sound in the first syllable of the name is the only original one, not only in the Songhay, but also in the Arabic form; but it has gradually been changed into an *i*, and almost all the Arabs at the present time pronounce and write Tinbuktu, تنبكت. The town was probably so called, because it was built originally in a hollow or cavity in the sandhills. Túmbutu means hole or womb in the Songhay language: if it were a Temáshight word, it would be written Tinbuktu. The name is generally interpreted by Europeans, *well* of Buktu, but *tin* has nothing to do with well. See Vol. I. p. 323, note.

viously to that of Songhay,—I mean Ghána, or Ghánata, and Melle,—had evidently emanated from the north, and especially from Sijilmésa, Songhay appears to have been civilised from the other side, namely, from Egypt, the intimate relation with which is proved by many interesting circumstances, although, in a political respect, it could only adopt the same forms of government which had been developed already in Ghána and Melle; nay, we shall find even some of the same titles. With respect to Ghána, we learn from A'hmed Bábá the very interesting fact* that twenty kings were supposed to have ruled over that kingdom at the time when Mohammed spread the new creed which was to agitate and to remodel half of the globe.

The kingdom of Songhay, even after 'Alí Killun had made it independent of Melle, could not fail to remain rather weak and insignificant, as even Timbúktu, and probably a great portion of the country to the east of that town, was not comprised in its limits: nay, it even appears that the kingdom was still, at times, dependent in a certain degree upon Melle, the great kingdom on the upper course of the Niger; and it was not until almost 150 years after the time of 'Alí Killun that the powerful king Sonni 'Alí, the Sonni Héli of Leo Africanus, conquered Timbúktu, wresting it, with immense slaughter, A. H. 894, A. D. 1488, from the hands of the Tawárek, who had themselves conquered it from Melle. This king, although he is represented by all the learned men of Negroland

* See A'hmed Bábá, l. c. p. 526.

as a very cruel and sanguinary prince, was no doubt a great conqueror; for although it was he who, in taking possession of this town, inflicted upon the inhabitants a most severe punishment, surpassing even the horrors which had accompanied the taking of the town by the king of Mósi, nevertheless it was he also who gave the first impulse to the great importance which Timbúktu henceforth obtained, by conquering the central seat of the old empire of Ghánata, and thus inducing the rich merchants from the north, who had formerly been trading with Bíru or Waláta, and who had even occasionally resided there, to transfer their trade to Timbúktu and Gágho. It is the same king, no doubt, that attracted the attention of the Portuguese, who, in the reigns of Joâo and Emmanuel, sent several embassies into the interior, not only to Melle*, which at that time had already greatly declined in power and importance, but also to Timbúktu, where Sonni 'Alí seems to have principally resided; and it was perhaps partly on account of the relations which he entertained with the Christian king (to whom he even opened a trading station as far inland as Wadán or Hóden), besides his cruelty against the chiefs of religion, that the Mohammedans were less satisfied with his government; for there is no doubt that he was not a strict Mohammedan.

* It is remarkable that, in a map published at Strasburg in the year 1513, the kingdom of Melle appears under the name of Regnum Musa Melle de Ginoria. Atlas of Santarem, pl. No. 13.

It was Háj Mohammed A′skia who founded the new homonymous dynasty of the A′skia, by rising against his liege lord, the son of Sonni ʿAlí, and, after a desperate struggle, usurping the royal power; and, notwithstanding the glorious career of that great conqueror, we may fancy we can see in the unfortunate circumstances of the latter part of the reign of that king, a sort of Divine punishment for the example which he had given of revolt.

We have seen that the dynasty of the Zá, of which that of the Sonni seems to have been a mere continuation, immigrated from abroad; and it is a circumstance of the highest interest to see king Mohammed A′skia,—perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland,—who was a native of this very country, born in the island of Néni, a little below Sínder, in the Niger, setting us an example of the highest degree of development of which negroes are capable. For, while Sonni ʿAlí, like his forefathers, still belonged to that family of foreign settlers who either came from Yemen, according to the current tradition, or as is more credible, immigrated from Libya, as Leo states, the dynasty of the A′skía was entirely of native descent; and it is the more remarkable, if we consider that this king was held in the highest esteem and veneration by the most learned and rigid Mohammedans, while Sonni ʿAlí had rendered himself so odious that people did not know how to give full vent to their indignation in heaping the most opprobrious epithets upon him.

It is of no small interest to a person who endeavours to take a comprehensive view of the various races of mankind, to observe how, during the time when the Portuguese, carried away by the most heroic enterprise and the most praiseworthy energy, having gradually discovered and partly taken possession of the whole western coast of Africa, and having at length doubled its southernmost promontory, under the guidance of Almeida and Albuquerque, founded their Indian empire, that at this same time a negro king in the interior of the continent not only extended his conquests far and wide, from the centre of Háusa almost to the borders of the Atlantic, and from the pagan country of Mósi, in 12° northern latitude, as far as Tawát to the south of Morocco, but also governed the subjected tribes with justice and equity, causing well-being and comfort to spring up everywhere within the borders of his extensive dominions*, and

* It is not to be wondered at that Leo, who visited Negroland just at the time when this prince was aspiring to power, and who must have written the greater part of what he relates of him and his conquests from information which he had received after he had left the country, should treat this usurper, whose identity with his Ischia cannot be doubtful, with very little indulgence; and it even seems as if he purposely intended to give a bad interpretation to everything which the king undertook, a fact which is clearly evident from what he relates with regard to his proceedings in Háusa. That the taxes imposed by him upon his subjects may have been heavy, I concede may be true, as without a considerable revenue he was not able to keep up a strong military force; but at least they evidently must have been much less than they were in the time of Sonni 'Alí, when almost the whole population was engaged in war. We find a very heavy duty upon salt, from each load 5*l.*

introducing such of the institutions of Mohammedan civilisation as he considered might be useful to his subjects. It is only to be lamented that, as is generally the case in historical records, while we are tolerably well informed as to the warlike proceedings of this king, it is merely from circumstances which occasionally transpire and are slightly touched upon, that we can draw conclusions as to the interior condition of his empire; and on this point I will make a few observations, before I proceed to the causes which rendered the foundation of this empire so unstable.

In a former part of my researches I have entered into the history and the polity of the empire of Bórnu, and it is interesting to compare with the latter that of the Songhay empire, which attained the zenith of its power just at the time when Bórnu likewise, having recovered, in consequence of the energy and warlike spirit of the king ʿAlí Ghajidéni, from the wounds inflicted upon it by the loss of Kánem, the desperate struggle with the tribe of the Soy, and a series of civil wars, attained its most glorious period during the reign of the two Edrís, in the course of the sixteenth century of our era.

In instituting such a comparison between these two extensive kingdoms of Negroland, we soon discover that the Songhay empire, although likewise stated to be founded by a Libyan dynasty, was far more despotic than its eastern rival; and it is in

vain, that we here look either for a divan of twelve great officers, forming a powerful and highly influential aristocracy, or that eclectic form of choosing a successor, both of which we find in Bórnu: nay, not even the office of a vizier meets our eye, as we peruse the tolerably rich annals of A'hmed Bábá. We find, no doubt, powerful officers also in the Songhay empire, as must naturally be the case in a large kingdom; but these appear to have been merely governors of provinces, whom the king installed or deposed at his pleasure, and who exercised no influence upon the internal affairs of the kingdom, except when it was plunged into civil war.

These governors bore generally the title of "farma," or "feréng," a title which is evidently of Mandingo origin*, and was traditionally derived from the institutions of the kingdom of Melle, while the native Songhay title of "koy" appears to be used only in order to denote officers of certain provinces, which originally were more intimately related to Songhay; and in this respect it is a remarkable fact, that the governor of Timbúktu or Túmbutu, is constantly called Túmbutu koy, and is only once called Túmbutu-mangha.† Besides this province, those which we find mentioned in the report of A'hmed Bábá are the following, going from east to west: — Dendi, or as it is now generally called Déndina, the country between

* See Cooley, "Negroland," p. 75, n. 26. and p. 77, n. 28.

† Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 554. If there be no mistake, there was a "koy" as well as a "farma" in some of the provinces, such as Bára.

Kebbi and Sáy*, which I have described in the account of my own journey, and which seems to have contained a Songhay population from tolerably ancient times, at least before the beginning of the sixteenth century; but we find none of the three divisions of this important province specified, not even Kenga or Zágha. This is to be regretted, as they appear to have been of ancient origin, and as their history, especially that of Zágha, which seems to have derived its name from the more celebrated town of the same name on the upper course of the river, would be highly interesting.

The country from hence towards the capital we never find comprised by A'hmed Bábá under a general name, nor do we meet with the names of Zabérma or Zérma, which I therefore conclude to be of more recent origin, although that country, at present so named, was evidently comprised in the kingdom of Songhay. West of Gágho, on the banks of the river, we next find the province of Banku or Bengu†, which evidently comprised that part of the river which is studded with islands, as we find the inspector of the harbour of Kábara taking refuge in the district of Banku, with the whole of his fleet, after the capture of the town by the people of Mo-

* A governor of the town of Sáy is perhaps indicated under the title of Sáy-weli. Ibid. p. 550.

† That Banku lay between Timbúktu and Ghágo is evident from the fact, that the governor of that province fled to Gágho, when Mohammed Sadík, the governor of Bel, or Bal, marched upon the capital of the empire.

rocco. Passing then by the province of Bantal, the limits of which I have not been able to make out, we come to the province of Bel or Bal, which evidently comprised the country on the north side of the river round about Timbúktu, and, perhaps, some distance westwards; but without including that town itself, which had a governor of its own, nor even the harbour of Kábara, which at that time was of sufficient importance to be placed under the inspection of a special officer or "farma," who, however, seems to have been subjected in a certain degree to the inspection of the Bal-mà, or the governor of Bal, who was able to call him to account.* The governor of the province of Bal, who bore the peculiar title of "Bal-mà," a word likewise of Mandingo origin, mà corresponding to the Songhay word "koy," seems to have been of great importance in a military respect, while in a moral point of view the governor of the town of Timbúktu enjoyed perhaps greater authority, and the office of the Túmbutu-koy, seems always to have been filled by a learned man or fákih, proving that this town was regarded at that time as the seat of learning; and that the fákih who governed the town of Timbúktu possessed great power is evident from the fact, that A'hmed Bábá mentions it as a proof of great neglect on the part of Al Hádi the governor of Tindírma, that he did not go in person to the kádhi to pay him his compliments.

* See the account in the Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 545.

Proceeding then westward from Bal and Timbúktu, we come to the very important province of Kúrmina, with the capital Tindírma, which very often served as a residence for the king himself, and became the chosen seat of A'skía Dáúd. The importance of the province of Kúrmina seems to have been based, not merely upon its military strength and populousness, but upon the circumstance of its having to supply Songhay Proper, together with its two large towns of Gágho and Kúkia, with grain; and it is evidently on this account, that the governor of that province is on one occasion called the store-keeper and provider of the king.* South-west from the province of Kúrmina, there were two provinces Dirma † and Bara, the exact boundaries of which it is difficult to determine; except that we know that Bara must have lain rather along the south-easterly branch of the river; while Dirma, having probably derived this name from the town of Díre, is most likely to be sought for on the north-westerly branch, although Caillié places Dírimán, as he calls it, south of the river. The province or district of Sháá ‡ may probably be identical with the district round the im-

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 541:—"Then he made Kishya feréng of Kúrmina, and gave him the office of mezr'a مزرع."

† It is not improbable that Dirma was originally the name or title of the governor of Díre, as Balmá was that of the governor of Bal, and that it was in after times conferred upon the province of which he was the ruler. Caillié, vol. ii. p. 29.

‡ Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 544.

portant town of Sâ, situated a short distance to the north-east of the lake Debu, and of which further notice will be taken in the itineraries. Proceeding further in the same direction, we have the province of Másina, a name which, under the form of Másín, is mentioned as early as the latter part of the eleventh century by El Bekrí*, but the limits of which it is very difficult to define, although it is clear that its central part comprises the islands formed by the different branches of the river, the Máyo balléo and the Máyo ghannéo, or dhannéo, and probably comprised in former times the ancient and most important town of Zágha the chief seat of Tekrúr, which Háj Mohammed A'skía had conquered in the beginning of his reign. It is peculiar, however, and probably serves to show the preponderance of the element of the Fúlbe in Másina, where they seem to have established themselves from very ancient times, that the governor of this province bore the title of Másina-mangha, instead of Másina-farma.

To the north-west of Másina, we have the province of Bághena, which comprised the central portion of the ancient kingdom of Ghána, or Ghánata, and the important town of Bíru, or Waláta, which, before Timbúktu rose to greater importance, that is to say, before the time of Sonni 'Alí, was the great centre of commerce in this part of Negroland. The province of Bághena was also of considerable importance on

* El Bekrí, ed. Macguckin de Slane, p. 150: ملك ماسين.

account of its situation, bordering, as it did, closely upon the central parts of the empire of Melle, which, at this time, formed almost the only portion that remained of that vast empire, and which was nearly overwhelmed by the Songhay in the course of the sixteenth century. Even the Imóshagh or Tawárek became tributaries.

South of the river two other provinces are mentioned by A'hmed Bábá, namely, the province of Hómbori, which from the nature of the country was also called Tondi, or El Hajri, and Burgu *, or rather Barba, though the latter country was apparently never entirely subjected.

The governors of these provinces were certainly possessed of considerable power, and belonging, as they did in general, to the royal family, exercised a very prejudicial influence upon the destinies of the empire, as at the same time the central government became weak and debilitated. The governor of Kúrmina, especially, conscious of the important influence and the rich character of his province, was very prone to mutiny and revolt. For as it was certainly a great advance in the scale of civilisation, that it was

* In the passage (Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society), p. 546, in the seventh line, a second ك is added by mistake. The name cannot be read as Burgu-koy, as all the parties composing the army of the pretender Mohámmed e' Sadík, are said to have belonged to *the people of the west*, while Burgu is situated at the S.E. frontier of Songhay; nay, it is quite clear, from page 547, that the Barakoy is meant, and not the Burgu-koy.

not customary amongst the Songhay to murder the younger brothers of the newly elected king, or to render them incapable of aspiring to the royal dignity by depriving them of their sight (as is still the custom in Wádáy), or in some other manner disabling them; so, on the other hand, it was no doubt very prejudicial to the stability of the empire, that so many royal princes were constantly installed as governors of powerful provinces, some of them situated at a great distance from the capital. Such a government could only prosper under the rule of a powerful king, such as Mohammed el Háj A'skía was during his most vigorous period.

On the other hand, we find that the government of Songhay was far more despotic than that of Bórnu, where, as I have had occasion to relate*, the election of a new king from among the royal princes was placed in the hands of three electors, themselves chosen from the most trustworthy men of the country; while the kings of Songhay appear originally to have designated their own successor among the royal princes, there being even an established dignity of something like an heir-apparent or crown-prince, with the title of "feréng-mangha:"† but this principle, as is naturally the case in barbaric states without any written con-

* Vol. II. p. 270.

† The exact meaning of the title "feréng-mangha," and the authority with which it was invested, are not quite clear; for although there is little doubt that "feréng-mangha" signifies "great prince," it is remarkable that on various occasions we find two "feréng-mangha" instead of one; and it is stated of Mohammed

stitution, was only observed as long as the king exercised paramount authority, while we see in other cases the army, or even a powerful governor, choosing a successor, as that of Dendi, who deposed Mohammed Bánkorí, and installed in his place A'skía Ismáíl.

As I stated before, we do not even find in Songhay a regular vizier; but we find a sort of treasurer in the person of the "khatíb," that is to say the imám who preaches before the congregation every Friday. Thus we find the great Háj Mohammed A'skía taking the whole of the money which he thought necessary for his royal pilgrimage, viz. 300,000 mithkáls, out of the royal treasury, which was in the hands of the khatíb 'Omár*; but we even find, in another passage, the same khatíb authorised to liberate a princely prisoner; and, from a third passage†, it is quite evident that the khatíb in Gágho exercised the same authority as the kádhi in Timbúktu, although we find a kádhi besides him in the capital.

There appears to have been an established state prison in Songhay, namely, in a place called Kantú, the exact situation of which, however, I have not

Ban A'skía, that he expressly designated two (J. O. S. p. 545). Moreover, we find that neither of these two was taken into account in appointing a successor (Ib. p. 546). But another passage (Ib. p. 552) is not less clear, stating plainly that, the ferémg-mangha having fallen in the battle, the A'skía named another prince as his successor, implying clearly the identity of the title "ferémg-mangha" with that of heir-apparent.

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 533.

† Ibid. p. 555.

yet been able to ascertain. This prison could not fail to become of great importance as the dissensions and feuds in the royal family increased; and there appears to be no doubt that at times it was quite full of royal prisoners, and in this respect, as well as on account of the various assassinations which occurred there, fully corresponded with the character of the Tower in the middle ages. There is no doubt that polygamy, with its consequent intrigues in the harím, was the chief cause of the speedy decline of the Songhay empire from the high position it had attained under the rule of Sonni 'Alí and Háj Mohammed A'skía. The large number of ambitious children that A'skía Dáúd, the most peaceful of the Songhay rulers, left behind him, seems especially to have contributed in a great measure to this speedy decline; but the example had been set by that ruler himself, who, having no other claims to the royal dignity than his talent and energy, revolted against his liege lord, whom he conquered and supplanted, but had himself to endure the misfortune of being persecuted, and finally dethroned in his old age, by his own son Músa.

On the subject of the manners and customs and the state of society in Songhay during its period of power, we find but little in the short extracts which I was able to make from the history of A'hmed Bábá; still a few hints as to some remarkable usages are to be gleaned from them. Islám, as we have seen, had been adopted by the royal family at the beginning of

the eleventh century of our era; but we learn from the eminent Andalusian geographer El Bekrí, who finished his work on Africa in the year 1067, that while the king was a Moslim by law, receiving at his accession to the throne, as emblems of his authority, a sword, ring, and a copy of the Kurán, which were said to have been sent by an Emír el Múmenín (from Egypt), the greater part of the inhabitants even of the capital, at that time, were still addicted to paganism*; and we may fairly conclude from the description of Leo Africanus, and from what we observe in Negroland at the present day, that even during the time of the A'skías, the greater part of the natives of the country were idolaters, at least in heart and superstitious usages. However, it would seem as if they had received, in more ancient times, several institutions from the Egyptians, with whom, I have no doubt, they maintained an intercourse, by means of the energetic inhabitants of Aújila†, from a relatively ancient period; and among these institutions I feel justified in reckoning the great care which the Songhay bestowed upon their dead. We see that even those among their kings who died in the very remotest part of the empire were transported with the greatest trouble to the capital, in order to be buried there with due ceremony. For instance, Sonni 'Alí had died in Gurma; but his sons, who accompanied him on the expedition, took out his entrails, and filled his

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 183.

† See El Edrísi, trans. Jaubert, i. p. 288.

inside with honey, in order that it might be preserved from putrefaction.* The remains of A'skía Dáúd were transported all the way from Tindírma to Gágho in a boat. Even in the case of the slaughter of distinguished enemies, we find strict orders given to perform towards them the ceremonies usual with the dead.

The attention thus bestowed upon the dead seems not to have been in consequence of the introduction of Islám, but appears rather to have been traditionally handed down from the remotest antiquity. Nevertheless, it is clear that the adoption of Islám exercised considerable influence upon the civilisation of these people, and we even find a Medreseh mentioned in Gágho†, an establishment the institution of which we have probably to assign to El Háj Mohammed, who, while on his pilgrimage to Mekka, solicited the advice of the most learned men in Egypt, and especially that of the sheikh Jelál e' dín e' Soyúti, as to the best method of propagating the Mohammedan religion in his own country.

The influence of learning and study, even in the royal family, is apparent enough from the example of the pretender Mohammed Bánkorí‡, who, when on his march to Gágho, ready to fight the king El Háj A'skía, was induced by the kádhi of Timbúktu, whom he by chance visited, to give up his ambitious designs

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 532.

† Ibid. p. 527, from the year 936 A. H.

‡ Ibid. p. 541.

for a quiet course of study, to the great astonishment and disappointment of his army, who expected to be led by him, in a bloody contest, to power and wealth. A'hmed Bábá himself, the author of the history of Songhay, who gives a long list of learned natives of Negroland, may serve as a fair specimen of the learning in Timbúktu at that time. He had a library of 1600 books.

A great deal of commerce was carried on in Songhay during the dominion of the A'skías, especially in the towns of Gágho and Kúkiya; the latter being, as it appears, the especial market for gold as early as the latter half of the eleventh century. Salt, too, was the staple commodity, while shells already at that time constituted the general currency of the market; not, however, the same kind of shells that are used at present, but a different sort which were introduced from Persia; and there is no doubt that, even at that time, almost all the luxuries of the Arabs found their way into this part of Negroland. That Timbúktu also, since the decline of Bíru or Waláta, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, formed an important place for foreign commerce, is evident from the fact that the merchants of Ghadámes, even at the taking of the town by the Bashá Jódar, inhabited the same quarter as at the present day.

We also see, from Leo's account*, that the king of Songhay was obliged to spend a great proportion of his revenue in the purchase of horses from Barbary,

* Leo Africanus, l. vii. c. 3.

by means of which he improved the native breed, as we have seen was the case in Bórnu, cavalry constituting the principal military strength of countries in the state of civilisation which prevails in Negroland. We also find coats of mail mentioned, as well as brass helmets, but no allusion is made to even a single musketeer, nor is the use of any firearms intimated by A'hmed Bábá, although he distinctly describes several engagements, and even single combats. It was this circumstance which secured to the small army sent by the Emperor of Morocco, a superiority which could not be contested by any numbers which the last A'skía, ruling over a kingdom of vast extent but undermined by intrigues and civil war, was able to oppose to it; and we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that an army of 4000 men was a great thing at that time in point of numbers, for the kings of Negroland, at least those of Songhay and Bórnu, at that period, were able to raise greater armies than any of the present kings of those regions could bring together, and we hear of an army of 140,000 men.

The circumstance of the kings of Songhay not having procured at that time—the end of the sixteenth century of our era—even the smallest number of firearms, is remarkable, if we compare with it the fact which I have dwelt upon in its proper place*, that Edrís A'lawóma, the king of Bórnu who ruled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, possessed a considerable number of muskets. The cannon which

* Vol. II. p. 650.

was found among the Songhay when they were conquered by the Moroccains had, I have no doubt, formed part of the present which the Portuguese had forwarded to A'skía Músa, as we shall further see in detail in the chronological tables; but the fact of the enemy having found this piece of ordnance among the spoil of the capital, and not in the thick of the battle, sufficiently proves that the Songhay did not know how to use it. As for the matchlocks, which even at the present day are preserved in Gágho, and of which, by some accident, I did not obtain a sight, they belonged originally to the very conquerors from Morocco, who afterwards, as Rumá, formed a stationary garrison, and even a certain aristocratical body, in all the chief towns of the kingdom.

Side by side with a certain degree of civilisation, no doubt, many barbarous customs were retained, such as the use of the lash, which in other parts of Negroland we find rarely employed, except in the case of slaves, but which, in Songhay, we see made use of constantly, even in the case of persons of the highest rank; and instances occur, as in that of the instigator of the revolt of El Hádi, under the king El Háj, of persons being flogged to death.*

It is certainly a memorable fact, of which people in Europe had scarcely any idea, that a ruler of Morocco, at the time when Spain had attained its highest degree of power under Philip II., and was filled with precious metals, should open an access to an ex-

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 543.

tensive and rich country, from whence to procure himself an unlimited supply of gold, to the surprise of all the potentates of Europe. It is, moreover, a very remarkable circumstance, that the soldiery by means of which Múláy Hámed subdued that far-distant kingdom, and who were left as a garrison in the conquered towns, intermarrying with the females of the country, in the same way as the Portuguese did in India, managed to rule those extensive regions by themselves, even long after they had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of Morocco, whose soldiers these Rumá originally had been, Rumá or Ermá being the plural form of Rámi, "shooter" or "sharpshooter;" and although they appear never to have formed a compact body ruled by a single individual, but rather a number of small aristocratic communities, the Rumá in Timbúktu having scarcely any connection with those in Bághena, nay, probably not even with those in Bamba and Gágho, yet superior discipline enabled them to keep their place. The nationality of these Rumá puzzled me a long time, while I was collecting information on these regions in the countries farther eastward; and they have lately attracted the attention of the French traveller Raffenel*, during his journey to Kaárta, when he learnt so much about a people, whom he calls "Arama," that he supposed them to be

* See Raffenel, Nouveau Voyage dans le pays des Nègres (made in 1847), Paris, 1856, vol. ii. p. 349, *et seq.*; the Vocabulary, ibid. p. 399, *et seq.*

a distinct tribe, although the vocabulary which he collected of their idiom, shows it to be nothing but a slight variety of the Songhay language. However, it is clear, that under such circumstances the dominion exercised by this set of half-castes could not but be of a very precarious character; and after a protracted struggle with the smaller tribes around, they have been entirely crushed by the Tawárek, and in most of the towns of Songhay form at present an integral part of the degraded native population, although they have preserved their name of Rumá, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Rummá, and still claim a sort of moral ascendancy.

It will be seen from the preceding sketch, and become still more apparent from the chronological tables at the end of the volume, that Timbúktu has rather unjustly figured in Europe as the centre and the capital of a great Negro empire, while it never acted more than a secondary part, at least in earlier times; and this character evidently appears from the narrative of Ebn Batúta's journey, in the middle of the fourteenth century. But on account of Timbúktu becoming the seat of Mohammedan learning and Mohammedan worship, and owing to the noble character of its buildings, well deserving to rank as a city or "medína," a title which the capital itself perhaps never deserved, it always enjoyed great respect, even during the flourishing period of the latter; and after Gágho or Gógó had relapsed into insignificance, in consequence of the conquest by the Rumá

at the end of the sixteenth century, Timbúktu, on account of its greater proximity to Morocco, became the more important place, where gradually the little commerce which still remained in that distracted region of the Niger was concentrated. But, nevertheless, during the age of anarchy which succeeded to the conquest of the country by the Rumá, and owing to the oppression from the Tawárek tribes on the one side, and the Bámbara and Fúlbe on the other, the state of affairs could not be very settled; and the town, shaken as it was to its very base by that fearful struggle of the inhabitants with the Kádhi Mústapha, with massacre, rapine, and conflagration following in its train, could not but decline greatly from its former splendour; yet under the alternately predominating influence of paganism, represented most strongly by the warlike tribe of the Bámbara, and of Mohammedanism represented by the Arab tribes*, it struggled on, till in consequence of its being conquered by the Fúlbe of Másina, in the year 1826, a few months before the unfortunate Major Laing succeeded in reaching the town, it was threatened with the loss of all its commerce. For these people, owing to the impulse given to Mohammedanism in this part of Negroland by their

* This condition of the town explains the great divergence of reports as to the creed prevalent in Timbúktu; but it is unintelligible that a person could actually visit the town without becoming aware that it contained several mosques, and very large ones, too, for such a place. For particulars, see the Appendix.

countryman 'Othmán dan Fódiye*, had become far more fanatical champions of the faith than the Arabs and Moors; and treating the inhabitants of the newly conquered city, as well as the foreigners who used to visit it, with extreme rigour, according to the prejudices which they had imbibed, they could not fail to ruin almost the whole commercial activity of the place. Their oppression was not confined to the pagan traders, the Wangaráwa, who carry on almost the whole commerce with the countries south of the Niger, but extended even to the Mohammedan merchants from the north, especially the traders from Tawát and Ghadámes, against whom the Morocco merchants, instigated by a feeling of petty rivalry, succeeded in directing their rancour. It was in consequence of this oppression, especially after a further increase of the Fúlbe party in the year 1831, that the Ghadámsíye people induced the Sheikh el Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, and successor of Sídi Mohammed, to remove his residence from the hille, or hillet e' shëikh el Mukhtár, in A'zawád, half a day's journey from the well Bel Mehán to Timbúktu. Thus we find in this distracted place a third power stepping in between the Fúlbe on the one side and the Tawárek on the other, and using the power of the latter as far as their want of centralisation allowed, against the

* See what I have said, p. 256, about the Sheikh A'hmedu, or rather Mohammed Lebbo, the founder of the kingdom of Hamda-Alláhi, having brought from Gando the religious banner under which he conquered Másina.

overbearing character of the former. In consequence of this continued collision, the Tawárek drove the Fúlbe completely out of the town, about the year 1844, when a battle was fought on the banks of the river, in which a great number of the latter were either slain or drowned. But the victory of the Tawárek was of no avail, and only plunged the distracted town into greater misery; for, owing to its peculiar situation on the border of a desert tract, Timbúktu cannot rely upon its own resources, but must always be dependent upon those who rule the more fertile tracts higher up the river; and the ruler of Másina had only to forbid the exportation of corn from his dominions to reduce the inhabitants of Timbúktu to the utmost distress. A compromise was therefore agreed to in the year 1846, through the mediation of the Sheikh el Bakáy, between the different parties, to the effect that Timbúktu should be dependent on the Fúlbe without being garrisoned by a military force, the tribute being collected by two kádhis, one Púllo, and the other Songhay, who should themselves decide all cases of minor importance, the more important ones being referred to the capital. But, nevertheless, the government of the town, or rather the police, as far as it goes, is in the hands of one or two Songhay mayors, with the title of emír, but who have scarcely any effective power, placed as they are between the Fúlbe on the one side and the Tawárek on the other, and holding their ground against the former through the two kádhis, and against the

latter by means of the Sheikh el Bakáy. Such is the distracted state of this town, which cannot be remedied before a strong and intelligent power is again established on this upper course of the Niger, so eminently favourable for commerce.

After these general remarks on the character of the history of Songhay, I proceed to give a diary of my stay in Timbúktu.

CHAP. LXVII.

FIRST MONTH OF RESIDENCE IN TIMBÚKTU.

It had been arranged that, during the absence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, whose special guest I professed to be, my house should be locked up and no one allowed to pay me a visit. However, while my luggage was being got in, numbers of people gained access to the house, and came to pay me their compliments, and while they scrutinised my luggage, part of which had rather a foreign appearance, some of them entertained a doubt as to my nationality. But of course it could never have been my intention to have impressed these people with the belief of my being a Mohammedan; for having been known as a Christian all along my road as far as Libtáko, with which province the Arabs of A'zawád keep up a continual intercourse, although there the people would scarcely believe that I was a European, the news of my real character could not fail soon to transpire; and it was rather a fortunate circumstance that, notwithstanding our extremely slow progress, and our roundabout direction, the news had not anticipated us. I had been obliged to

adopt the character of a Mohammedan, in order to traverse with some degree of safety the country of the Tawárek, and to enter the town of Timbúktu, which was in the hands of the fanatical Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, while I had not yet obtained the protection of the chief whose name and character alone had inspired me with sufficient confidence to enter upon this enterprise.

Thus I had now reached the object of my arduous undertaking; but it was apparent from the very first, that I should not enjoy the triumph of having overcome the difficulties of the journey in quiet and repose. The continuous excitement of the protracted struggle, and the uncertainty whether I should succeed in my undertaking, had sustained my weakened frame till I actually reached this city; but as soon as I was there, and almost at the very moment when I entered my house, I was seized with a severe attack of fever. Yet never were presence of mind and bodily energy more required; for the first night which I passed in Timbúktu was disturbed by feelings of alarm and serious anxiety.

On the morning of the 8th of September, the first news I heard was, that Hammádi the rival and enemy of El Bakáy had informed the Fúlbe, or Fullán, that a Christian had entered the town, and that, in consequence, they had come to the determination of killing him. However, these rumours did not cause me any great alarm, as I entertained the false hope that I might rely on the person who, for the time,

had undertaken to protect me: but my feeling of security was soon destroyed, this very man turning out my greatest tormentor. I had destined for him a very handsome gift, consisting of a fine cloth bernús, a cloth kaftán, and two tobes, one of silk and the other of indigo-dyed cotton, besides some smaller articles; but he was by no means satisfied with these, and peremptorily raised the present to the following formidable proportions: —

	Shells.
Two blue bernúses of the best quality, worth -	100,000
One kaftán - - - - - - - -	40,000
Two waistcoats; one red and one blue - -	15,000
Two silk tobes - - - - - -	35,500
Two Núpe tobes - - - - - -	30,000
A pair of small pistols, with 7 lbs. of fine powder	
Ten Spanish dollars - - - - -	
Two English razors, and many other articles -	

While levying this heavy contribution upon me, in order to take from the affair its vexatious character, my host stated, that as their house and their whole establishment were at my disposal, so my property ought to be at theirs. But even this amount of property did not satisfy him, nor were his pretensions limited to this; for, the following day, he exacted an almost equal amount of considerable presents from me, such as two cloth kaftáns, two silk hamáil, or sword belts, three other silk tobes, one of the species called jellábi, one of that called harír, and the third of the kind called filfil, one Núpe tobe, three túrkedís, a small six-barrelled pistol, and many other things. He pro-

mised me, however, on his part, that he would not only make presents of several of these articles to the Tawárek chiefs, but that he would also send a handsome gift to the governor of Hamda-Alláhi; but this latter condition at least, although the most important, considering that the town was formally subjected to the supremacy of the ruler of Másina, was never fulfilled; and although I was prepared to sacrifice all I had for the purposes of my journey, yet it was by no means agreeable to give up such a large proportion of my very limited property to a younger brother of the chief under whose protection I was to place myself.

Thus my first day in Timbúktu passed away, preparing me for a great deal of trouble and anxiety which I should have to go through; even those who professed to be my friends treating me with so little consideration.

However, the second day of my residence here was more promising. I received visits from several respectable people, and I began to enter with spirit upon my new situation, and to endeavour by forbearance to accommodate myself to the circumstances under which I was placed. The state of my health also seemed to improve, and I felt a great deal better than on the preceding day.

I was not allowed to stir about, but was confined within the walls of my house. In order to obviate the effect of this want of exercise as much as possible, to enjoy fresh air and at the same time to be-

come familiar with the principal features of the town, through which I was not allowed to move about at pleasure, I ascended as often as possible the terrace of my house. This afforded an excellent view over the northern quarters of the town. On the north was the massive mosque of Sánkoré, which had just been restored to all its former grandeur through the influence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, and gave the whole place an imposing character. Neither the mosque Sídi Yáhia, nor the "great mosque," or Jíngeré-bér, was seen from this point; but towards the east the view extended over a wide expanse of the desert, and towards the south the elevated mansions of the Ghadámsíye merchants were visible. The style of the buildings was various. I could see clay houses of different characters, some low and unseemly, others rising with a second story in front to greater elevation, and making even an attempt at architectural ornament, the whole being interrupted by a few round huts of matting. The sight of this spectacle afforded me sufficient matter of interest, although, the streets being very narrow, only little was to be seen of the intercourse carried on in them, with the exception of the small market in the northern quarter, which was exposed to view on account of its situation on the slope of the sand-hills which, in course of time, have accumulated round the mosque.

But while the terrace of my house served to make me well acquainted with the character of the town,

it had also the disadvantage of exposing me fully to the gaze of the passers by, so that I could only slowly and with many interruptions, succeed in making a sketch of the scene thus offered to my view, and which is represented in the plate opposite. At the same time I became aware of the great inaccuracy which characterises the view of the town as given by M. Caillié; still, on the whole, the character of the single dwellings was well represented by that traveller, the only error being that in his representation the whole town seems to consist of scattered and quite isolated houses, while, in reality, the streets are entirely shut in, as the dwellings form continuous and uninterrupted rows. But it must be taken into account that Timbúktu, at the time of Caillié's visit, was not so well off as it is at present, having been overrun by the Fúlbe the preceding year, and he had no opportunity of making a drawing on the spot.

Although I was greatly delighted at the pleasant place of retreat for refreshing my spirits and invigorating my body by a little exercise which the terrace afforded me, I was disgusted by the custom which prevails in the houses like that in which I was lodged, of using the terrace as a sort of closet; and I had great difficulty in preventing my guide Ammer el Waláti, who still staid with me and made the terrace his usual residence, from indulging in this filthy practice.

Being anxious to impart to my friends in Europe the news of my safe arrival in this far-famed town,

I was busily employed in writing letters, which gave fresh impulse to my energy. My tormentor Sídi Alawáte himself seemed anxious to rouse my spirits, which he could not but be conscious of having contributed a great deal to depress, by sending me word that he himself would undertake to accompany me on my home journey, as he intended making the pilgrimage to Mekka; but, having once had full opportunity of judging of the character of this man, I placed but little confidence in his words.

Meanwhile, I began to provide what was most necessary for my comfort, and bought for myself and my people a piece of good bleached calico, "shígge," * or "sehen híndi," as it is called here, for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8000 each. At the same time I sent several articles into the market, in order to obtain a supply of the currency of the place, 3000 shells being reckoned equal to one Spanish dollar.

* It is a highly interesting fact, that we find this native name, which is given to calico in the region of the Niger, already mentioned by that most eminent and clear-sighted of Arab geographers, A'bu 'Obaid Allah el Bekrí, in the middle of the eleventh century, or fully 800 years ago. For, in describing the manufacture of cotton in the town of Silla, which has become so familiar to Europeans in consequence of Mungo Park's adventures, he expressly mentions that this calico was called "shígge" by the natives, الازر المسماة بالشكيات. (El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, 1857, p. 173.) Great interest is imparted by such incidents to the life of a region which, to the common observer, seems dead and uninteresting.

Thus I had begun to make myself a little more comfortable, when suddenly on the morning of the 10th, while I was suffering from another attack of fever, I was excited by the report being circulated, that the party opposed to my residence in the town was arming in order to attack me in my house. Now, I must confess that, notwithstanding the profession of sincere friendship made to me by Sídi A'lawáte, I am inclined to believe that he himself was not free from treachery, and, perhaps, was in some respect implicated in this manœuvre, as he evidently supposed that, on the first rumour of such an attack being intended, I should abandon my house, or at least my property, when he might hope to get possession underhand of at least a good portion of the latter before the arrival of his brother, whom he knew to be a straightforward man, and who would not connive at such intrigues. With this view, I have no doubt, he sent a female servant to my house, advising me to deposit all my goods* in safety with the Táleb el Wáfi, as

* On this occasion, which was a rather serious one, a most ridiculous misunderstanding was caused by the peculiarity of the Arabic dialect used in Timbúktu, which puzzled me and my companions very often, and sometimes made conversation between me and my friends very difficult and intricate. When the servant said that we should remove all our "haiwán" from our house, supposing that she meant animals, we told her that we had only one animal in our house, viz. my horse; and it was some time before we learned that in Timbúktu, which is inhabited mostly by such Arabs as have been at a former period dwellers in the desert, and whose property consisted almost exclusively of camels and cattle, the word "haiwán" comprises all kinds of movable property.

the danger which threatened me was very great; but this errand had no other effect than to rouse my spirits. I armed immediately, and ordered my servants to do the same, and my supposed protector was not a little astonished, when he himself came shortly afterwards with the Waláti (who, no doubt, was at the bottom of the whole affair), and found me ready to defend myself and my property, and to repulse any attack that might be made upon my residence, from whatever quarter it might proceed. He asked me whether I meant to fight the whole population of the town, uttering the words "gúwet e' Rúm," "strength of the Christians;" and protested that I was quite safe under his protection and had nothing to fear, and certainly, for the moment, my energetic conduct had dispersed the clouds that might have been impending over my head.

But notwithstanding his repeated protestations of sincere friendship, and although he confirmed with his own mouth what I had already heard from other people, that he himself was to accompany me on my return journey as far as Bórnu, he did not discontinue for a moment his importunity in begging for more presents day by day.

One day he called on me in company with his principal pupils, and earnestly recommended me to change my religion, and from an unbeliever to become a true believer. Feeling myself strong enough in arguments to defend my own religious principles, I challenged him to demonstrate to me the superiority of his creed, telling him that in that case I should

not fail to adopt it, but not till then. Upon this, he and his pupils began with alacrity a spirited discussion, in the firm hope that they would soon be able to overcome my arguments; but after a little while they found them rather too strong, and were obliged to give in, without making any further progress at the time in their endeavours to persuade me to turn Mohammedan. This incident improved my situation in an extraordinary degree, by basing my safety on the sincere esteem which several of the most intelligent of the inhabitants contracted for me.

While thus gaining a more favourable position, even in the eyes of this unprincipled man, I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from his elder, more intelligent, and straightforward brother, the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, late in the evening of the 13th, full of the most assuring promises that I should be quite safe under his protection, and that he would soon arrive to relieve me from my unsatisfactory position. And although I felt very unwell all this time, and especially the very day that I received this message, I did not lose a moment in sending the Sheikh a suitable answer, wherein I clearly set forth all the motives which had induced me to visit this city, in conformity with the direct wish of the British government, whose earnest desire it was to open friendly intercourse with all the chiefs and princes of the earth; mentioning among other Mohammedan chiefs with whom such a relation existed, the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd, Múlá 'Abd e' Rahmán, and

the Imám of Maskat; and whose attention the region of the Great River (Niger), together with Timbúktu, had long attracted. At the same time I assured him that his own fame as a just and highly intelligent man, which I had received from my friends far to the east in the heart of Negroland, had inspired me with full confidence that I should be safe under his protection. In consequence of the views which I set forth in this letter, I was so fortunate as to gain the lasting esteem of this excellent man, who was so much pleased with the contents of it, that on its arrival in Gúndam, where he was at the time, he read it to all the principal men, Tawárek, Songhay, and even Fullán, in whose company he was staying.

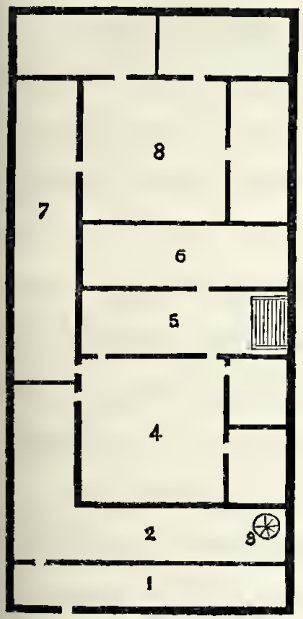
Meanwhile, in order to obtain the friendship and to secure the interest of other and more selfish people, I gave away a great many presents; but, from what I learned afterwards, I had reason to suspect that they did not all reach the persons for whom they were intended. Most of them remained in the possession of the greedy Weled A'mmer Waláti, through whose hands they had unfortunately to pass.

The day that I received the important message from the Sheikh has been impressed on my memory with so much greater force, as it was the grand festival of the Mohammedans, or the 'Aíd el Kebír. Here also in this city, so far remote from the centre of Mohammedan worship, the whole population, on this important day, said their prayers outside the town; but there being no paramount chief to give

unity to the whole of the festive arrangements, the ceremonies exhibited no striking features, and the whole went off very tamely, only small parties of from six to ten persons forming groups for joining in prayer, while the whole procession comprised scarcely more than thirty horses.

After my fever had abated for a day or two it returned with greater violence on the 17th, and I felt at times extremely unwell and very weak, and in my feverish state was less inclined to bear with tranquillity and equanimity all the exactions and contributions levied upon me by Sídi A'lawáte. We had a thunder-storm almost every day, followed now and then by a tolerable quantity of rain; the greatest fall of rain, according to the information which I was able to gather, annually occurring during the month of September, a phenomenon in entire harmony with the northerly latitude of the place. This humidity, together with the character of the open hall in which I used to pass the night as well as the day, increased my indisposition not a little; but the regard for my security did not allow me to seek shelter in the store-room wherein I had placed my luggage, and which, being at the back of the hall, was well protected against cold, and, as it seemed at least, even against wet. For, not to speak of the oppressive atmosphere and almost total darkness which prevailed in that close place, in taking up my residence there I should have exposed myself to the danger of a sudden attack, while from the hall where I was staying I

was enabled to observe everything which was going on in my house; and through the screen which protected the opening, close by the side of my couch, I could observe everybody that entered my yard long before they saw me. For this reason I preferred this place even to the room on the terrace, although the latter had the advantage of better air. I may observe that these upper rooms in general form the private residence of most of the people in the town who have the luxury of such an upper story.



1. First segífa, or, as it is called in Songhay, "sífa," or ante-room.
2. Second segífa, with a staircase, or "tintim," (3) leading to the terrace, "garbéne," and the front room on the terrace, where three of my people well-armed were constantly keeping watch.
4. Inner court-yard.
5. Hall, with two open entrances, wherein I had my residence by night and day, on the reed-bed on the right.
6. Store-room capable of being locked up.
7. Covered passage, or corridor.
8. Second court-yard, originally intended for the female department, but where I kept my horse, the surrounding rooms as well as the back wall of the house being in a state of decay.

About three o'clock in the morning, Monday, September 26th. while I was lying restlessly on my couch, endeavouring in vain to snatch a moment's sleep, the Sheikh Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy arrived. The music, which was immediately struck up in front of his house by the women, was ill adapted to procure me rest;

while the arrival of my protector, on whose disposition and power the success of my whole undertaking and my own personal safety fully depended, excited my imagination in the highest degree, and thus contributed greatly to increase my feverish state.

The following day I was so ill as to be quite unable to pay my respects to my protector, who sent me a message begging me to quiet myself, as I might rest assured that nothing but my succumbing to illness could prevent me from safely returning to my native home. Meanwhile, as a proof of his hospitable disposition, he sent me a handsome present, consisting of two oxen, two sheep, two large vessels of butter, one camel load, or "suníye," of rice, and another of negro-corn, cautioning me, at the same time, against eating any food which did not come from his own house. In order to cheer my spirits, he at once begged me to choose between the three roads by which I wanted to return home—either through the country of the Fúlbe, or in a boat on the river, or, by land, through the district of the Tawárek.

As from the first I had been fully aware that neither the disposition of the natives, and especially that of the present rulers of the country, the Fúlbe, nor the state of my means, would allow me to proceed westward, and as I felt persuaded that laying down the course of the Niger from Timbúktu to Sáy would far outweigh in importance a journey through the upper country towards the Senegal, I was firm in desiring from the beginning to be allowed to visit Gógó. For

not deeming it prudent, in order to avoid creating unnecessary suspicion, to lay too great stress upon navigating the river, I preferred putting forward the name of the capital of the Songhay empire; as in visiting that place I was sure that I should see at least the greater part of the river, while at the same time I should come into contact with the Tawárek, who are the ruling tribe throughout its whole course.

But the generous offer of my friend was rather premature; and if at that time I had known that I was still to linger in this quarter for eight months longer, in my then feeble condition, I should scarcely have been able to support such an idea; but fortunately Providence does not reveal to man what awaits him, and he toils on without rest in the dark.

This was the anniversary of the death of Mr. Overweg, my last and only European companion, whom I had now outlived a whole year; and whom, considering the feeble state of my health at this time, while my mind was oppressed with the greatest anxiety, I was too likely soon to follow to the grave. Nevertheless, feeling a little better when rising from my simple couch in the morning, and confiding in the protection tendered me by a man whose straightforward character was the theme of general admiration, and which plainly appeared in the few lines which I had received from him, I fondly cherished the hope that this day next year it might be my good fortune to have fairly embarked upon my home journey from Negroland, and perhaps not to be far

Tuesday, September 27th.

from home itself. I therefore, with cheerful spirit, made myself ready for my first audience, and leaving my other presents behind, and taking only a small six-barrelled pistol with me, which I was to present to the Sheikh, I proceeded to his house, which was almost opposite my own, there intervening between them only a narrow lane and a small square, where the Sheikh had established his "msíd," or daily place of prayer. A'hmed el Bakáy, son of Sídi Mohammed, and grandson of Sídi Mukhtár*, of the tribe of the Kunta, was at that time a man of about fifty years of age, rather above the middle height, full proportioned, with a cheerful, intelligent, and almost European countenance, of a rather blackish complexion, with whiskers of tolerable length, intermingled with some grey hair, and with dark eyelashes. His dress consisted at the time of nothing but a black tobe, a fringed shawl thrown loosely over the head, and trowsers, both of the same colour.

I found my host in the small upper room on the terrace, in company with his young nephew, Mohammed Ben Khottár, and two confidential pupils, and, at the very first glance which I obtained of him, I was agreeably surprised at finding a man whose countenance itself bore testimony to a straightforward and manly character; both which qualities I had found so sadly wanting in his younger brother, Sídi A'lawáte. Cheered by the expression of good-nature

* For the whole genealogy of the Sheíkh see Appendix VII.

in his countenance as he rose from his seat to receive me, and relieved from all anxiety, I paid him my compliments with entire confidence, and entered into a conversation, which was devoid of any affected and empty ceremonious phrases, but from the first moment was an unrestrained exchange of thoughts, between two persons who, with great national diversity of manners and ideas, meet for the first time.

The pistol, however, with which I presented him, soon directed our conversation to the subject of the superiority of Europeans in manufacturing skill, and in the whole scale of human existence; and one of the first questions which my host put to me was, whether it was true, as the Ráís (Major Laing) had informed his father, Sídi Mohammed, during his stay in A'zawád, that the capital of the British empire contained twenty times 100,000 people.

I then learned to my great satisfaction what I afterwards found confirmed by the facts stated in Major Laing's correspondence*, that this most enterprising but unfortunate traveller, having been plundered and almost killed by the Tawárek†, in the

* See Major Laing's Letters in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxviii. 1828, p. 101, *et seq.*, and vol. xxxix.

† There cannot be the least doubt that, in addition to the love of plunder, it was also a certain feeling of revenge for the mischief inflicted upon their countrymen by the heroic Mungo Park which prompted this ferocious act of the Tawárek; and it is very curious to observe the presentiment that Major Laing had, on setting out from Tawát, of what awaited him, as most distinctly embodied in

valley Ahénnet, on his way from Tawát, was conducted by his guides to, and made a long stay at, the camp or station of the Sheikh's father, Sídi Mohammed, in the hillet Sídi el Mukhtár, the place generally called by Major Laing Beled Sídi Mohammed, but sometimes Beled Sídi Mooktar, the Major being evidently puzzled as to these names, and apt to confound the then head of the family, Sídi Mohammed, with the ancestor Sídi Mukhtár, after whom that holy place has been called. It is situated half a day's journey from the frequented well Bel Mehán, on the great northerly road, but is at present deserted.*

some of his letters, dated Tawát, Jan. 1826, especially in a letter addressed to James Bandinel, Esq., which General Edward Sabine, the great friend of the distinguished traveller, kindly allowed me to inspect.

* Instead of communicating the itinerary from Timbúktu to the hillet in my collection of itineraries through the western half of the desert, at the end of the following volume, where it would be overlooked by the general reader, I prefer inserting it in this place:—

1½ day, Tenég el hay, or Tenég el háj, a well where all the roads meet. A great many celebrated localities along this part of the road.

1 day, Tin-tahón, about the heat of the day; a locality so called from an eminence, "tahón."

1 day, Worozíl, a well with a rich supply of water, about the same time.

1 day, E'n-eláhi, a whole day. From hence to the small town Bú-Jebéha, passing by the well e' Twíl, 2 days.

2 days, Erúk; 3 days from A'rawán; 1¼ from Bú-Jebéha. Close to Erúk is Mérizík.

1 day, Bel-Mehán, a rich and famous well; a long day, keep-

We thus came to speak of Major Laing, here known under the name of E' Ráís (the Major), the only Christian that my host, and most of the people hereabouts, had ever seen; the French traveller, Réné Caillié, who traversed this tract in 1828, having, in his poor disguise, entirely escaped their observation, not to speak of the sailors Adams and Scott, who are said to have visited this place, although their narrative does not reveal a single trait which can be identified with its features.

Major Laing, during the whole time of our intercourse, formed one of the chief topics of conversation, and my noble friend never failed to express his admiration, not only of the Major's bodily strength, but of his noble and chivalrous character.* I made immediate inquiries with regard to Major Laing's papers, but unfortunately, not being provided with a copy of the blue book containing all the papers relating to that case, I had not the means of establishing all the points disputed. I only learnt that at the time none of those papers were in existence, although the Sheikh himself told me that the Major, while

ing along a valley enclosed between the sandhills, "E'gif," towards the W., and the black mountains of A'derár towards the E.

1 day, Hillet e' Sheikh.

* It is highly interesting and satisfactory to observe how Major Laing himself, in the letters published in the Edinburgh Review, speaks of the kind reception given to him, when severely wounded, by the Sheikh and maraboot (Merábet) Mooktar, or rather Sídi Mohammed. See, especially, p. 105.

staying in A'zawád, had drawn up a map of the whole northerly part of the desert from Tawát as far south as the hillet or the place of residence of his father.

Meanwhile, while we were conversing about the fate of my precursor in the exploration of these regions, my host assured me repeatedly of my own perfect safety in the place, and promised that he would send the most faithful of his followers, Mohammed el 'Aísh, with me to the Tawárek, from whence I might continue my journey in the company of my former companion. Such, I think, was really his intention at the time, but circumstances, which I am soon to detail, were to change all these premature plans.

Having returned to my quarters, I sent my host his present, which consisted of three bernúses, viz. one heláli, or white silk and cotton mixed, and two of the finest cloth, one of green and the other of red colour; two cloth kaftáns, one black and the other yellow; a carpet from Constantinople; four tobes, viz., one very rich, of the kind called "harír," and bought for 30,000 shells, or twelve dollars, one of the kind called filfil, and two best black tobes; twenty Spanish dollars in silver; three black shawls, and several smaller articles, the whole amounting to the value of about 30*l*. He then sent a message to me, expressing his thanks for the liberality of the Government in whose service I was visiting him, and stating that he did not want anything more from me; but he begged that, after my safe return home, I would not

forget him, but would request Her Majesty's Government to send him some good fire-arms and some Arabic books; and I considered myself authorised in assuring him, that I had no doubt the English Government would not fail to acknowledge his services, if he acted in a straightforward manner throughout.

Pleasant and cheering as was this whole interview, nevertheless, in consequence of the considerable excitement which it caused me in my weak state, I felt my head greatly affected; and I was seized with a shivering fit about noon the following day, just as I was going to pay another visit to my friend. On the last day of September, I entered into a rather warm dispute with A'lawáte, whom I met at his brother's house, and whose ungenerous conduct I could not forget. My protector not possessing sufficient energy, and, in his position, not feeling independent enough to rebuke his brother for the trouble which he had caused me, begged me repeatedly to bear patiently his importunities, though he was aware of my reasons for disliking him. On another occasion, he made me fire off the six-barrelled pistol in front of his house, before a numerous assemblage of people. This caused extraordinary excitement and astonishment among the people, and exercised a great influence upon my future safety, as it made them believe that I had arms all over my person, and could fire as many times as I liked.

Thus the month of September concluded satisfac-

torily and most auspiciously, as it seemed. For I had not only succeeded in reaching in safety this city, but I was also well received on the whole; and the only question seemed to be how I was to return home by the earliest opportunity and the safest route. But all my prospects changed with the first of the ensuing month, when the difficulties of my situation increased, and all hopes of a speedy departure appeared to be at an end. For in the afternoon of the first of October, a considerable troop of armed men, mustering about twenty muskets, arrived from Hamda-Alláhi, the residence of the shekho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, to whose nominal sway the town of Timbúktu and the whole province has been subjected since the conquest of the town in the beginning of the year 1826. These people brought with them an order from the capital to drive me out of the town; and Hammádi, the nephew and rival of the Sheikh El Bakáy, feeling himself strengthened by the arrival of such a force, availed himself of so excellent an opportunity of enhancing his influence, and, in consequence, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the town, commanding them, in stringent terms, to attend to the orders of the emír, and in the event of my offering resistance, not even to spare my life.

There can scarcely be any doubt that my protector, as far as a man of a rather weak character was capable of any firm resolution, had intended to send me off by the very first opportunity that should offer; but the order issued by the emír of Hamda-Alláhi (to

whose authority, he was vehemently opposed), that I should be forthwith driven out of the town or slain, roused his spirit of opposition. He felt, too, that the difficulties of my leaving this place in safety were thus greatly augmented. All thoughts of my immediate departure were therefore set aside; partly, no doubt, from regard to my security, but much more from an anxious desire to show the Fullán, or Fúlbe, that he was able to keep me here, notwithstanding their hostile disposition and their endeavours to the contrary. There were, besides, the intrigues of the Waláti, my guide on the journey from Yágha, who, finding that the Sheikh did not approve of his dishonest conduct towards me, endeavoured to get me out of his hands, in order that he might deal with me as he liked. My broker, too, 'Alí el A'geren, seeing the difficulties of my situation, gave me entirely up, making his own safety the only object of his thoughts.

The Sheikh, when he had fully understood what I had told him with regard to the power and the political principles of the sovereign of Great Britain, had determined to write a letter with his own hand, expressing his satisfaction that I had come to pay him my compliments, and in order to endeavour to counteract the discouraging effects produced by the account of Major Laing's death, and, if possible, to obtain for himself a few presents. This letter, it was understood in the beginning, I myself should take with me; but, in the evening of the third of October, I suddenly, to my great amazement, re-

ceived the intelligence that I was to send my man, ʿAlí el A'geren, to Ghadámes or Tripoli with this letter, accompanying it with a note from my own hand, while I myself remained behind, as a kind of hostage, in Timbúktu, until the articles which the Sheikh El Bakáy had written for were received. But I was not to be treated in this way by intrigues of my own people; and the following morning I sent a simple protest to the Sheikh, stating that, as for himself, he might do just as he liked, and if he chose to keep me as a prisoner or hostage, he might do so as long as he thought fit; but that he must not expect to receive so much as a needle from the Government that had sent me until I myself should have returned in safety. My host, too, had just before intimated to me that it would be best to deliver my horse and my gun into his hands; but I sent him an answer, that neither the one nor the other should leave my house until my head had left my shoulders. It was rather remarkable that a person of so mean a character as the Waláti should for a moment gain the upper hand of a man of such an excellent disposition as the Sheikh; but it was quite natural that this clever rogue should continually incite Sídi A'lawáte to make new demands upon my small store of valuable articles.

Meanwhile, while I was thus kept in a constant state of excitement, I was not free from anxiety in other respects. A thunder-storm, accompanied by the most plentiful rain which I experienced during my stay

in this place, had in the afternoon of the 3rd October inundated my house, and, breaking through the wall of my store-room, had damaged the whole of my luggage, my books, and medicines, as well as my presents and articles of exchange. But my situation was soon to improve, as the Sheikh became aware of the faithless and despicable character of my former companion and guide; and while he ordered the latter to fetch my camels from A'ribínda, which it was now but too apparent he had sold on his own account instead of having them taken care of for me, he informed me of what had come to his knowledge of the Waláti's previous character and disreputable habits.

The Emír of Hamda-Alláhi's sending a force to Timbúktu in order to dispose of me, with the assistance of the inhabitants of that town, without paying the slightest regard to the opinion of my protector, had caused a considerable reaction in the whole relation of the Sheikh to the towns-people, and he had made up his mind to pitch his camp outside the city, in order to convince the inhabitants, and the Fullán in particular, that he did not depend upon them, but had mightier friends and a more powerful spell upon which he could safely rely. He had even, while still absent in Gúndam, opened communication with A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, to this effect.

But all these proceedings required more energy and a more warlike character than, I am sorry to say, my friend and protector actually possessed; and our ad-

versaries were so busy, that, in the night of the 9th, owing to the arrival of a party of Tawárek, who were well known not to be friendly disposed towards him, he was so intimidated, that at two o'clock in the morning he himself came to my house, rousing us from our sleep and requesting us most urgently to keep watch, as he was afraid that something was going on against me. We therefore kept a constant look out the whole night on our terrace, and seeing that the rear of our house was in a partial state of decay, facilitating an attack in that quarter, we set to work early in the morning repairing the wall and barricading it with thorny bushes. The artisans of the town were so afraid of the party hostile to me, who were the nominal rulers, that no one would undertake the task of repairing my house. However, the more intelligent natives of the place did all in their power to prevent my learned friend from leaving the town, as they felt sure that such a proceeding would be the commencement of troubles. The consequence was, that we did not get off on the 10th, although the Sheikh had sent his wife and part of his effects away the preceding night, and it was not till a little before noon the following day that we actually left the town.

CHAP. LXVIII.

FIRST RESIDENCE IN THE DESERT. — POLITICAL COMBINATIONS. — GREAT MOSQUE. — GROUND-PLAN OF THE TOWN.

This was an important moment for myself, as, with the exception of an occasional visit to the Sheikh, who lived only a few yards across the street, and an almost daily promenade on my terrace, I had not moved about since my arrival. With a deep consciousness of the critical position in which I was placed, I followed my protector, who, mounted on his favourite white mare, led the way through the streets of the town, along which the assembled natives were thronging in order to get a glance at me. Leaving the high mounds of rubbish which constitute the groundwork of the northern part of the town on our left, and pursuing a north-north-easterly direction over a sandy tract covered with stunted bushes, and making only a short halt near a well five miles from the town, for the purpose of watering our horses, after a march of two miles more we reached the camp, which could easily be recognised at a great distance by two large white cotton tents, whose size and situation made them conspicuous above some

October 11th.

smaller leathern dwellings. It was just about sunset; and the open country with its rich mimosas, and with the camp on the rising ground, the white sandy soil of which was illumined by the last rays of the setting sun, presented an interesting spectacle. The younger inhabitants of the camp, including Bábá Ahmed and 'Abidín, two favourite boys of the Sheikh, one five, the other four years of age, came out to meet us; and I soon afterwards found myself lodged in an indigenous tent of camel's hair, which was pitched at the foot of the hill, belonging to Mohammed el Khalíl, a relative of the Sheikh, who had come from his native home in Tíris, on the shores of the Atlantic, in order to share his uncle's blessing.

In this encampment we passed several days in the most quiet and retired manner, when my friend revealed to me his course of action. It was his intention, he said, to bring the old chief Galaijo, from the place of his exile in Champagóre, back to this part of Negroland, which he had formerly ruled, and to reinstate him, by the aid of the Tawárek, in the government of Másina with the residence Hamda-Alláhi, of which he was to deprive the family of Lebbo. But even if it was true, as he said, that the Fúlbe themselves, as well those settled between Fermágha and Gúndam, as those inhabiting the provinces of Dalla, Dwenza, and Gilgóji, were opposed to the government of Lebbo, such a project appeared to me to require a greater share of perseverance and determination than, from all that I had

seen, I could believe my noble friend possessed. However, he entertained no doubt at that time that Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Tawárek himself, would come to his aid without delay and conduct me, under his powerful protection, safely along the banks of the Niger.

However exaggerated the projects of my protector were, considering his mild disposition, and although by exasperating the Fúlbe more and more he no doubt increased the difficulties of my situation, the moving of his encampment outside the town afforded me a great deal of relief, both in consequence of the change of air which it procured me, and of the varied scenery. I could also get here a little exercise, although the more open the country was, the greater care I had to take of my safety. In the morning, particularly, the camp presented a very animated sight. The two large white tents of cotton cloth, with their top-covering, or "sarámme," of chequered design, and their woollen curtains of various colours, were half opened to allow the morning air to pervade them. The other smaller ones were grouped picturesquely around on the slope, which was enlivened by camels, cattle, and goats, that were just being driven out. All nature was awake and full of bustle, and the trees were swarming with white pigeons. In the evening, again, there were the cattle returning from their pasturage, the slaves bringing water on the backs of the asses, and the people grouped together in the simple place of devotion, laid out with thorny bushes, in order to say

their prayers, guided by the melodious voice of their teacher, who never failed to join them. At this time a chapter of the Kurán was chanted by the best instructed of the pupils, and continued often till a late hour at night, the sound of these beautiful verses, in their melodious fall, reverberating from the downs around; at other times animated conversation ensued, and numerous groups gathered on the open ground by the side of the fire.

We returned into the town on the 13th. The first day had passed off rather quietly, save that a party of twelve Imóshagh, of the tribe of the Igwádaren, partly mounted on camels, partly on horses, trespassed on the hospitality of the Sheikh. I had an opportunity of inspecting their swords, and was not a little surprised at finding that they were all manufactured in the German town of Solingen, as indeed were almost all the swords of these Tawárek, or Imóshagh.

The interests of the different members of the family now began to clash. The Sheikh himself was firm in his opposition against the Fúlbe, and requested me in future, when I visited him, to come to his house fully armed, in order to show our adversaries that I was ready to repulse any violence; and it was in vain that I protested that, as I came with peaceable intentions, nothing could be farther from my wish than to cause any disturbance in the town. Meanwhile his brother, Sídi Alawáte, suborned one of the Sheikh's pupils to make another attempt to convert me to Islamism. This man, who was one of the most

learned followers of the Sheikh, having resided for nearly thirty years in the family, first with the Sheikh Sídi Mohammed, then with his eldest son El Mukhtár, who succeeded him in the dignity of a Sheikh during Major Laing's residence in A'zawád, and finally with the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, originally belonged to the Arab tribe of the Welád Ráshid, whose settlements in Wádáy I have mentioned on a former occasion. Partly on this account, partly on account of his great religious knowledge, and his volubility of speech, he possessed great influence with all the people, although his prudence and forbearance were not conspicuous. But finding that his usual arguments in favour of his creed did not avail with me, he soon desisted. This was the last time these people attempted to make me a proselyte to their religion, with the exception of some occasional serious advice from my friends under the temporary pressure of political difficulties.

The emír of the place, of the name of Kaúri, who was a good-natured man, and whose colleague, Belle, was absent at the time, having advised my protector to take me again out of the town for a few days, till the kádhi A'hmed Weled Fáamme, who was going to Hamda-Alláhi, and who was especially hostilely disposed towards me, should have left, we again set out, on the morning of the 17th October; but, having stayed in the encampment that night and the following morning, we returned to the town the same afternoon, but left again on the morning of the 20th,

when the kafla of the Tawátíye was ready to set out on their journey to the north, and stayed with them during the heat of the day. They were encamped in about twenty-four small leathern tents, round the well where we had a few days previously watered our horses, and mustered more than fifty muskets, each of them being armed, moreover, with a spear and sword; but notwithstanding their numbers, and the circumstance that a rather respectable man, of the name of Háj A'hmed, the wealthiest person of Insála or ʿAín-Sála, was among them, and was to accompany them as far as Mámún, I felt no inclination to go with this caravan, and thus to deprive myself of the opportunity of surveying the river, nor did my protector himself seem to find in this northerly road any sufficient guarantee for my safe return home. I therefore only made use of this opportunity in order to send to Europe, by way of Ghadámes, a short report of my arrival in Timbúktu, and a general outline of the political circumstances connected with my stay in the city.

The caravan having started the following morning, we stayed two days longer in the camp, and then once more returned into the town, without any further difficulty, in the company of Sídi A'lawáte, who had come out to join us with a body of armed followers, and who behaved now, on the whole, much more amiably towards me. He even gave me some interesting particulars with respect to Ségo*, which

* The chief information related to the circumstance that all

place he had visited some time before, levying upon Dembo, then king of Bámbara, a heavy contribution of gold. This king who was sprung from a Púllo mother, had succeeded his father Farma, the son of the king mentioned by Mungo Park under the name of Mansong, two years previously.*

The Fúlbe, however, did not give up their point, and, as they did not find themselves strong enough to proceed to open violence, made an indirect attack upon me by putting in irons on the 27th some Arabs or Moors, on the pretext of having neglected their prayers, thereby protesting strongly enough against a person of an entirely different creed staying in the town. The emír Kaúri himself, who, on the whole, seemed to be a man of good sense, was in a most awkward position; and when the kádhi informed him, that, if he was not able to execute the order which he had received from his liege lord, he should solicit the assistance of the people of Timbúktu, he

the four quarters of that town, together with two other quarters which in a wider sense are included in the place, are situated on the south side of the river, as has been stated already in Recueil des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 53. Mungo Park, who states (First Journey p. 195.) the contrary, was evidently mistaken; and from the circumstances under which he passed by Ségo, as a despised and suspected person, his mistake is easily intelligible. The two quarters which in a wider sense still belong to Ségo are called Benánkoró and Bammabúgu, in the former of which a well frequented market is held. There is, besides, a village close by called Bebára.

* My information as to the succession of the kings of Bámbara does not agree with that received by M. Faidherbe, the present governor of Senegal, published in the "Revue Coloniale," 1857, p. 279. I shall refer to this subject in another place.

refused to have recourse to violence till he had received stricter orders to that effect and more effectual aid; for, in the event of his having driven me out, and anything having befallen me, the whole blame would be thrown upon him, as had been the case with Sídi Bú-Bakr the governor, who, obeying the orders of Mohammed Lebbo, had obliged the Ráís (Major Laing) to leave the town, and thus, in some measure was the cause of his death, that distinguished traveller having thrown himself in despair into the arms of Hámed Weled 'Abéda, the chief of the Berabísh, who murdered him in the desert.

But, on the other hand, the emír endeavoured to dissuade my protector, who was about to send a messenger to Alkúttabu*, the great chief of the Awelímmiden, to summon him to his assistance, from carrying out his intention, fearing lest the result of this proceeding might be a serious conflict between the Tawárek and the Fúlbe. However, from all that I saw, I became aware that the chance of my departure was more remote than ever, and that, at least this year, there was very little prospect of my leaving this place; for the messenger whom the Sheikh was to send to the Tárki chief, and of whose departure there had been much talk for so long a time, had not yet left, and the chief's residence was several hundred miles off. I therefore again pro-

* I will here remark, although I have to speak repeatedly of this chief, that the name seems to be an abbreviation, meaning probably قطب الدين that is, "pillar of the faith."

tested to my friend that it was my earnest desire to set out on my home journey as soon as possible, and that I felt not a little annoyed at the continual procrastination.

Several circumstances concurred at this time to make me feel the delay the more deeply, so that notwithstanding my sincere esteem for my protector, I thought it better, when he again left the town in the evening of the 27th, to remain where I was; for after my return from our last excursion, in consequence of the severe cold during the night, I had been visited by a serious attack of rheumatism, which had rendered me quite lame for a day or two.

With regard to the means of my departure, the Waláti, whom I had sent out at a great expense to bring my horses and camels from the other side of the river, had brought back my horses in the most emaciated condition. As for the camels, he had intended to appropriate them to his own use; but I defeated his scheme by making a present of them to the Sheikh. This brought all the Waláti's other intrigues to light, especially the circumstance of his having presented a small pistol (which I had given to himself) to Hammádi, the Sheikh's rival, intimating that it came from me, and thus endangering my whole position, by making the Sheikh believe that I was giving presents to his rivals and his enemies. But my protector acted nobly on this occasion; for he not only warned me against the intrigues of the Waláti, and would not lend an ear to his numerous calumnies

against me, but he even preferred me, the Christian, to my Mohammedan companion, the Méjebrí, ʿAlí el A′geren, who was sometimes led, through fear, to take the part of the Waláti; and the Méjebrí, who thought himself almost a sherif, and was murmuring his prayers the whole evening long, felt not a little hurt and excited when he found that the Sheikh placed infinitely more reliance upon me than upon himself.

In order to convince the Sheikh how sensible I was of the confidence which he placed in me, I made a present of a blue cloth kaftan to Mohammed Boy, the son of the chief Galaijo, who had studied with him for a year or two, and was now about to return home by way of Hamda-Alláhi. But, unluckily, I had not many such presents to offer, and a nobleman of the name of Muláy ʿAbd e' Salám, who had sent me a hospitable present of wheat and rice, was greatly offended at not receiving from me a bernús in return.

Meanwhile the Fúlbe, or Fullán, sent orders to Dár e' Salám, the capital of the district of Zánkara, that their countrymen inhabiting that province should enter Timbúktu as soon as the Sheikh should leave it. The latter, in order to show these people the influence he possessed, decided upon taking me with him on an excursion to Kábara, which is the harbour on the river, where the Fúlbe were generally acknowledged to possess greater power than in Timbúktu, on account of the distance of the latter from the water. I followed him gladly, that I might have an

opportunity of observing the different aspect of the country two months after the date when I had first traversed it. In fact the landscape had now a very different appearance, being entirely changed in consequence of the abundant rains which had fallen in September and October. The whole sandy level, which before looked so dull and dreary, was now covered with herbage; while that part of the road nearer the town had been a little cleared of wood, apparently in order to prevent the Tawárek from lurking near the road and surprising travellers. Further on, when we approached the village of Kábara, all the fields were overgrown with water-melons, which form a considerable branch of the industry of the inhabitants.

We dismounted, at length, close to Kábara, in the shade of a talha tree, clearing the ground and making ourselves as comfortable as possible. A great number of people collected round us, not only from the village of Kábara, but also from the town; even the governor, or emír, Kaúri, came out to see what we were doing here.

By way of making some sort of popular display, and showing his enemies the extent of his authority, my protector here distributed the presents which he had destined for Boy and his companions, who, before returning to their home in the province of Galaijo, were first going to pay their compliments to the sheikho A'hmedu in Hamda-Alláhi. He also sent the very bernús which I had intended for 'Abd e' Salám to

'Abd Alláhi*, the uncle of the young sheikho A'hmedu of Hamda-Alláhi. While the emír walked up and down, at some distance from the spot where we had taken up our position, in order to have a look at me, we were treated hospitably by the inspector of the harbour (a cheerful old man of the name of 'Abd el Kásim, and of supposed sheríf origin), with several dishes of excellent kuskus, one of which fell to my share: and I was delighted to see that, notwithstanding the decline of everything in this distracted region, the old office of an inspector of the harbour still retained a certain degree of importance. But I lamented that I was not allowed to survey at my leisure the general features of the locality, which had entirely changed since my first visit to this place. The river had inundated the whole of the lowlands, so that the water, which

* I will give, in this place, some particulars as to the court of Hamda-Alláhi; حَمْدَ الله the name is written by the natives. Mohammed Lebbo ruled from A. H. 1241 to 1262; his son Sheikho (pronounced also Seko) A'hmedu, till 1269. This is the chief whom M. Faidherbe (Revue Col. 1857, p. 279) calls Balógo, a Mandingo name, which means nothing but "war chief." Sheikho A'hmedu, in spite of the opposition of a strong party, was succeeded by his young son A'hmedu. All the members of the royal family live together in one and the same court-yard, which has something of a round shape, the yard of the chief himself forming the centre, and those of the four surviving sons of Mohammed Lebbo, viz. 'Abd Alláhi, 'Abd e' Salám, Hámidu, and 'Abd e' Rahmán, lying opposite each other around the wall. Of these uncles of the sheikho, 'Abd Alláhi is the richest, and is said to possess a great amount of gold, 1700 slaves, 1900 head of cattle, 40 horses, and 20 boats on the river.

had before only formed a narrow ditch-like channel, now presented a wide open sheet, affording easy access to the native craft of all sizes.

Having then mounted in the afternoon, after a pleasant ride we reached the town; but instead of directly entering the dilapidated walls, we turned off a little to the west, towards a small plantation of date trees (marked [9] in the plan of the town), of the existence of which I had had no previous idea; for small and insignificant as it was, it claimed considerable interest in this arid tract, there being at present only four or five middle-sized trees, rather poor specimens of the hájilíj, or *balanites*, inside the town; although we know that before the time of the conquest of Songhay by the Moroccains, the city was not so poor in vegetation; but the inspector of the harbour having fled on that occasion with the whole fleet, the bashá Mahmúd cut down all the trees in and around the town for the purpose of ship-building.

The little oasis consisted of three nearly full-grown date-trees, but of small size, only one of them bearing fruit, while around there were about ten very young bushes, which, if not well taken care of, scarcely seemed to promise ever to become of any value. The plantation, poor as it was, owed its existence to the neighbourhood of a deep well, of immense size, being about thirty yards in diameter and five fathoms deep, wherein the water collects.

Having loitered here a few moments, and visited a small and poor plantation in the neighbourhood be-

longing to the Tawáti, Mohammed el 'Aísh, we turned off towards the Jíngeré-bér, or "great mosque," which by its stately appearance made a deep impression upon my mind, as I had not yet had an opportunity of inspecting it closely. It was here especially that I convinced myself, not only of the trustworthy character of Caillié's report in general, of which I had already had an opportunity of judging, but also of the accuracy with which, under the very unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed, he has described the various objects which fell under his observation. I was only permitted to survey the outside of the mosque; as to the interior, I was obliged to rely upon the information which I received from the more intelligent of the natives.

The mosque is a large building, but a considerable portion of it is occupied by an open courtyard, wherein the larger tower is enclosed, while the principal part of the building includes nine naves, of different dimensions and structure; the westernmost portion, which consists of three naves, belonging evidently to the old mosque, which, together with the palace, was built by Mansa Músa, the king of Melle, as is even attested by an inscription over the principal gate, although it has become somewhat illegible. The chief error which Caillié has committed in describing this mosque relates to the smaller tower, the position of which he has mistaken, and the number of gateways on the eastern side, there being seven instead of five. Caillié also states the greatest length of the building to be 104

paces; while my intelligent friend Mohammed ben 'Aísh assured me that, after measuring it with the greatest accuracy, he found it to be 262 French feet in length, by 194 in width.*

If this building, which stands just at the western extremity, and forms the south-western corner of the town, were situated in the centre, it would be infinitely more imposing; but it is evident that in former times the mosque was surrounded by buildings on the western side. The city formerly was twice as large.

While we were surveying this noble pile, numbers of people collected round us,—this being the quarter inhabited principally by the Fúlbe, or Fullán,—and when we turned our steps homewards, they followed us along the streets through the market, which was now empty, but without making the least hostile manifestation. On the contrary, many of them gave me their hands.

Soon after my arrival in the place, I had sent home a small plan of the town. This I now found to be inaccurate in some respects; and I here therefore subjoin a more correct plan of the town, although on a rather small scale,—the circumstances under which I resided there not having allowed me to survey the greater part of it accurately enough for a more minute delineation.

The city of Timbúktu, according to Dr. Petermann's

* I recommend the reader who takes any interest in the subject to read the whole passage of Caillié relating to this mosque, English ed. vol. ii. p. 71. The Tawáti took the measurement with my line.

PLAN OF TIMBÚKTU.

1. House of the Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy, with another house belonging to the same close by, and having in front of it a small square, where he has established a "msíd," or place of prayer for his pupils, several of whom pass the night here.
2. House belonging likewise to the Sheikh, where I myself was lodged, the ground plan of which I have given above.
3. Great mosque, "Gíngere (Jíngeré, or Zángeré) bér, Jám'a el kebíra," begun by Mansa Músa, king of Melle, A.D. 1327, and forming, for many centuries, the centre of the Mohammedan quarter.
4. Mosque Sánkoré, in the quarter Sánkoré, which is generally regarded as the oldest quarter of the town. The mosque has five naves, and is 120 feet long by 80 feet wide.
5. Mosque Sídi Yáhia, much smaller than the two other large mosques.
6. Great market-place, or Yúbu.
7. Butchers' market, where in former times the palace, or "Mà-duk," or Mà-dugu, is said to have been situated.
8. Gate leading to Kábara.
9. Well, surrounded by a small plantation of date trees.
10. Another well, with a small garden, belonging to Mohammed el 'Aísh.
11. Spot in a shallow valley, up to which point small boats ascended from the Niger, in the winter 1853-4.

laying down of it from my materials, lies in 17° 37′ N. and 3° 5′ W. of Greenwich. Situated only a few feet above the average level of the river, and at a distance of about six miles from the principal branch, it at present forms a sort of triangle, the base of which points towards the river, whilst the projecting angle is directed towards the north, having for its centre the mosque of Sánkoré. But, during the zenith of its power, the town extended a thousand yards further north, and included the tomb of the fáki Mahmúd, which, according to some of my informants, was then situated in the midst of the town.

The circumference of the city at the present time I reckon at a little more than two miles and a half; but it may approach closely to three miles, taking into account some of the projecting angles. Although of only small size, Timbúktu may well be called a city — medína — in comparison with the frail dwelling-places all over Negroland. At present it is not walled. Its former wall, which seems never to have been of great magnitude, and was rather more of the nature of a rampart, was destroyed by the Fúlbe on their first entering the place in the beginning of the year 1826. The town is laid out partly in rectangular, partly in winding, streets, or, as they are called here, "tijeráten," which are not paved, but for the greater part consist of hard sand and gravel, and some of them have a sort of gutter in the middle. Besides the large and the small market there are few open areas, except a small square in

front of the mosque of Yáhia, called Túmbutu-bót-tema.

Small as it is, the city is tolerably well inhabited, and almost all the houses are in good repair. There are about 980 clay houses, and a couple of hundred conical huts of matting, the latter, with a few exceptions, constituting the outskirts of the town on the north and north-east sides, where a great deal of rubbish, which has been accumulating in the course of several centuries, is formed into conspicuous mounds. The clay houses are all of them built on the same principle as my own residence, which I have described, with the exception that the houses of the poorer people have only one courtyard, and have no upper room on the terrace.

The only remarkable public buildings in the town are the three large mosques: the Jíngeré-bér, built by Mansa Músa; the mosque of Sánkoré, built, at an early period, at the expense of a wealthy woman; and the mosque Sídi Yáhia, built at the expense of a kádhi of the town. There were three other mosques: that of Sídi Háj Mohammed, Msíd Belál, and that of Sídi el Bámi. These mosques, and perhaps some little msíd, or place of prayer, Caillié must have included when he speaks * of seven mosques. Besides these mosques, there are at present no distinguished public buildings in the town; and of the royal palace, or Má-dugu, wherein the kings of Songhay used to

* Caillié, Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. ii. p. 56.

reside occasionally, as well as the Kasbah, which was built in later times, in the south-eastern quarter, or the "Sane-gungu *, which already at that time was inhabited by the merchants from Ghadámes †, not a trace is to be seen. Besides this quarter, which is the wealthiest, and contains the best houses, there are six other quarters, viz. Yúbu, the quarter comprising the great market-place (yúbu) and the mosque of Sídi Yáhia, to the west of Sane-gungu; and west of the former, forming the south-western angle of the town, and called from the great mosque, Jíngeré-bér or Zángeré-bér. This latter quarter, from the most ancient times, seems to have been inhabited especially by Mohammedans, and not unlikely may have formed a distinct quarter, separated from the rest of the town by a wall of its own. Towards the north, the quarter Sane-gungu is bordered by the one called Sara-káina, meaning literally the "little town," and containing the residence of the Sheikh, and the house where I myself was lodged. Attached to Sara-káina, towards the north, is Yúbu-káina, the quarter containing the "little market," which is especially used as a butchers' market. Bordering both on Jíngeré-bér and Yúbu-káina, is the quarter Bagíndi, occupying the lowest situation in the town, and stated by the inhabitants to have been flooded entirely in

* Sane-gungu means, properly, the island, or the quarter of the whites, "kirsh el bedhán."

† See about the Kasbah, Ah'med Bábá's account, Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix. p. 550.

the great inundation which took place in 1640. From this depression in the ground, the quarter of Sánkoré, which forms the northernmost angle of the city, rises to a considerable elevation, in such a manner, that the mosque of Sánkoré, which seems to occupy its ancient site and level, is at present situated in a deep hollow — an appearance which seems to prove that this elevation of the ground is caused by the accumulation of rubbish, in consequence of the repeated ruin which seems to have befallen this quarter pre-eminently, as being the chief stronghold of the native Songhay. The slope which this quarter forms towards the north-eastern end, in some spots exceeds eighty feet.

The whole number of the settled inhabitants of the town amounts to about 13,000; while the floating population, during the months of the greatest traffic and intercourse, especially from November to January, may amount, on an average, to 5000, and under favourable circumstances to as many as 10,000. Of the different elements composing this population, and of their distinguishing features, I shall say a few words in another place. I now revert to the diary of my own proceedings.

In the evening of the next day I again went with the Sheikh out of the town to the tents, where we were to stay two days, but where we in fact spent six; my friend finding himself very happy in the company of his wife, to whom he was sincerely attached. Not only my companions, but even I myself, began to find it rather tedious in the dull encampment, as I had

scarcely any books with me to pass away my time, and my situation not allowing me to enter too closely into the discussions of my companions, as in that case they would have redoubled their endeavours to convert me to their creed, and would scarcely have allowed me to depart at all.

Almost the whole of the time which I spent here the Sheikh left me quite to myself, sometimes not quitting his tent for a whole day; but at other times we had some pleasant and instructive conversation. Among other subjects a rather animated discussion arose one day. An Arab, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, a near relation of my host, and of a rather presumptuous character, who had come on a visit from A'zawád, was extremely anxious to know the motives which induced me to visit this country, and scarcely doubted that it could be anything else than the desire of conquest. In order to show them of what little value the possession of the country would be to the Europeans, I jestingly told them, that our government, being informed that the natives of these tracts fed on sand and clay, had sent me out to discover how this was done, in order to provide, in a similar way, for the poor in our own country. The Arab was naturally greatly surprised at my statement. But the Sheikh himself laughed very heartily, and inquired, with an expression of doubt, whether there were poor people among the Christians.

Another evening, when the Sheikh was cheerfully sitting with us round the fire, we had an interesting

conversation concerning the worship of idols. In order to overcome the prejudice of his pupils with regard to the greater nobility and superiority of the Arab race, and to show them that their forefathers had not been much better than many of the idolatrous nations at the present day, he gave them an account of the superstitions of the ancient Arabs, and in the course of his conversation exhibited unmistakable proofs of an enlightened and elevated mind, of which the letter, which I shall communicate in another place, will give further proof.

Occasionally we received here also some interesting visits from Arabs or other people; the most conspicuous person among them being a man of the name of Fífi, the inspector of the harbour of Yówaru, a man of cheerful temperament, and a great friend of the Sheikh's. He had a perfect knowledge of the course of the river between Timbúktu and Jafarábe, the groups of islands forming the boundary between the Mohammedan kingdom of Másina and the Pagan kingdom of Bámbara, and very important for the trade along the river, as the boats coming from Timbúktu must here discharge their merchandise, which has to be conveyed hence to Sansándi on the backs of asses; but unfortunately my informant spoke nothing but Songhay. The state of retirement in which I was obliged to live deprived me of the opportunity of cultivating the language of the natives; which was moreover extremely repulsive to me on account of its deficiency in forms and words, so that I found it next

to impossible to express in it any general idea, without having recourse to some other foreign language. The Songhay of this region, having been deprived of all their former independent character more than two centuries and a half ago, and having become degraded and subject to foreigners, have lost also the national spirit of their idiom, which, instead of developing itself, has become gradually poorer and more limited; but I have no doubt that the dialect spoken by those still independent people in Dargol and Kulman is far richer, and anybody who wishes to study the Songhay language must study it there. The Arab visitors* to the town at this period were especially numerous, this being the most favourable season for the salt trade. A few months later scarcely a single Arab from abroad frequents the town.

The private life of the people in these encampments runs on very tranquilly, when there is no predatory incursion, which however is often enough the case. Most of these mixed Arabs have only one wife at a time, and they seem to lead a quiet domestic life, very like that of the Sheikh himself. I scarcely imagine that there is in Europe a person more sincerely attached to his wife and children than my host was. In fact, it might be said that he was a little too dependent on the will of his wife. The difference which I found between the position of

* I must here testify to the accuracy with which Mr. Raffenel, in the plates illustrating his two journeys in Negroland, has represented the character of these Western Arabs or Moors.

the wife among these Moorish tribes, and that which she enjoys among the Tawárek, is extraordinary, although even the Tawárek have generally but one wife; but while the latter is allowed to move about at her pleasure quite unveiled, the wife even of the poorest Arab or Moor is never seen unveiled, being generally clad in a black under and upper gown, and the wives of the richer and nobler people never leave their tents. The camp life of course would give to coquettish women a fair opportunity of intrigue; but in general I think their morals are pretty chaste, and the chastisement which awaits any transgression is severe, a married wife convicted of adultery being sure to be stoned. An incident happened during my present stay at the tents which gave proof of love affairs not being quite unusual here,—a Tárki, or rather A'mghi, having been murdered from motives of jealousy, and brought into our camp. But I must confess that I can scarcely speak of the mode of life in an Arab or Moorish encampment; for the camp of the Sheikh, as a chief of religion, is of course quite an exception; and moreover the neighbourhood of the Fúlbe or Fullán, who, in their austere religious creed, view all amusements with a suspicious eye, has entirely changed the character of these Moorish camps around the town, and it may be in consequence of this influence that there was no dancing or singing here.

Notwithstanding trifling incidents like these, which tended occasionally to alleviate the tediousness of our

stay, I was deeply afflicted by the immense delay and loss of time, and did not allow an opportunity to pass by of urging my protector to hasten our departure; and he promised me that, as I was not looking for property, he should not keep me long. But, nevertheless, his slow and deliberate character could not be overcome, and it was not until the arrival of another messenger from Hamda-Alláhi, with a fresh order to the Sheikh to deliver me into his hands, that he was induced to return into the town.

My situation in this turbulent place now approached a serious crisis; but, through the care which my friends took of me, I was not allowed to become fully aware of the danger I was in. The Sheikh himself was greatly excited, but came to no decision with regard to the measures to be taken; and at times he did not see any safety for me except by my taking refuge with the Tawárek, and placing myself entirely under their protection. But as for myself I remained quiet, although my spirits were far from being buoyant; especially as, during this time, I suffered severely from rheumatism; and I had become so tired of this stay outside in the tents, where I was not able to write, that, when the Sheikh went out again in the evening of the 16th, I begged him to let me remain where I was. Being anxious about my safety, he returned the following evening. However, on the 22nd, I was obliged to accompany him on another visit to the tents, which had now been pitched in a different place, on a bleak sandy eminence, about five miles

east from the town, but this time he kept his promise of not staying more than twenty-four hours. It was at this encampment that I saw again the last four of my camels, which at length, after innumerable delays, and with immense expense, had been brought from beyond the river, but they were in a miserable condition, and furnished another excuse to my friends for putting off my departure, the animals being scarcely fit to undertake a journey.

CHAP. LXIX.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—DANGEROUS CRISIS.

In the meantime, while I was thus warding off a decisive blow from my enemies, the political horizon of these extensive regions became rather more turbulent than usual; and war and feud raged in every quarter. Towards the north the communication with Morocco was quite interrupted, the tribe of the Tájakánt, who almost exclusively keep up that communication, being engaged in civil war, which had arisen in this way. A "Jakáni"* called 'Abd Allah Weled Mulúd, and belonging to that section of their tribe which is called Dráwa, had slain a chief of the E'rgebát who had come to sue for peace, and had been killed in his turn by the chief of his own tribe, a respectable and straightforward man of the name of Mohammed El Mukhtár Merábet. Thus, two factions having arisen, one consisting of the U'jarát and the A'hel e' Sherk, and the other being formed by the Dráwa and their allies, a sanguinary war was carried on. But notwithstanding the unfavourable state of this quarter, which is so important for the wellbeing of the town, on account of its intercourse with the north, the Sheikh, who was always anxious to establish peaceable

* That is the singular form of the name Tájakánt.

intercourse, repeatedly told me that although he regarded the road along the river, under the protection of the Tawárek, as the safest for myself, he should endeavour to open the northern road for future travellers from Merákesh, or Morocco, by way of Tafilélet, and that he should make an arrangement to this effect with the A'áríb and Tájakánt, though there is no doubt that it was the A'áríb who killed Mr. Davidson, a few days after he had set out from Wádí Nún in the company of the Tájakánt. There was just at the time a man of authority, of the name of Hámed Weled e' Síd, belonging to this tribe, present in the town. On one occasion he came to pay me a visit, girt with his long bowie knife. I had however not much confidence in these northern Moors; and seeing him advance through my court-yard in company with another man, I started up from my couch and met him halfway; and although he behaved with some discretion, and even wanted to clear his countrymen from the imputation of having murdered the above-mentioned traveller, I thought it more prudent to beg him to keep at a respectful distance.

Just at this time a large foray was undertaken by a troop of 400 Awelímmiden against the Hogár, but it returned almost empty-handed, and with the loss of one of their principal men. Towards the south, the enterprising chief El Khadír, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, was pushing strenuously forward against his inveterate enemies the Fúlbe, or Fullán, although the report which we heard at this

time, of his having taken the town of Hómbori, was not subsequently confirmed. But, on the whole, the fact of this Berber tribe pushing always on into the heart of Negroland, is very remarkable; and there is no doubt that if a great check had not been given them by the Fúlbe, they would have overpowered ere this the greater part of the region north of 13° N. latitude. Great merit, no doubt, is due to the Fúlbe, for thus rescuing these regions from the grasp of the Berber tribes of the desert, although as a set-off it must be admitted that they do not understand how to organise a firm and benevolent government, which would give full security to the intercourse of people of different nationalities, instead of destroying the little commerce still existing in these unfortunate regions, by forcing upon the natives their own religious prejudices.

The danger of my situation increased when, on the 17th November, some more messengers from the prince of Hamda-Alláhi arrived in order to raise the zekà *, and at the same time we received authentic information that the Fúlbe had made an attempt to instigate A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, upon whom I chiefly relied for my security, to betray me into their hands. News also arrived that the Welád Slímán, that section of the Berabísh to which belongs especially the chief Hámed Weled 'Abéda, who killed Major Laing, had bound themselves by an oath to put me to death. But my situation became still more

* Of the amount of the zekà, I shall speak in another chapter.

critical towards the close of the month, when, having once more left the town for the tents, we received information that a fresh party had arrived from the capital with the strictest orders to take me dead or alive. Being therefore afraid that my people, whom I had left in the town, frightened by the danger, might be induced to send my luggage out of the house where I was lodged, I sent in the course of the night the servant whom I had with me at the time, with strict orders not to move anything; but, before he reached the town, my other people had sent away my two large boxes to Táleb el Wáfi, the storekeeper of the Sheikh. But fortunately I did not sustain any loss from this proceeding, nothing being missing from these boxes, notwithstanding they had been left quite open.

Thursday, Dec. 1st. Having passed a rather anxious night, with my pistols in my girdle, and ready for any emergency, I was glad when, in the morning, I saw my boy return accompanied by Mohammed el 'Aísh. But I learned that the people of the town were in a state of great excitement, and that there was no doubt but an attack would be made upon my house the next morning. Thus much I made out myself; but, having no idea of the imminence of the danger, in the course of the day I sent away my only servant with my two horses, for the purpose of being watered. But my Tawáti friend seemed to be better informed, and taking his post on the rising ground of the sandy downs, on

the slope of which we were encamped, kept an anxious look out towards the town. About dhohor, or two o'clock in the afternoon, he gave notice of the approach of horsemen in the distance, and while I went into my tent to look after my effects, Mohammed el Khalíl rushed in suddenly, crying out to me to arm myself. Upon this I seized all the arms I had, consisting of a double-barrelled gun, three pistols, and a sword; and I had scarcely come out when I met the Sheikh himself with the small six-barrelled pistol which I had given him in his hand. Handing one of my large pistols to Mohammed ben Mukhtár, a young man of considerable energy, and one of the chief followers of the Sheikh, I knelt down and pointed my gun at the foremost of the horsemen who, to the number of thirteen, were approaching. Having been brought to a stand by our threatening to fire if they came nearer, their officer stepped forward crying out that he had a letter to deliver to the Sheikh; but the latter forbade him to come near, saying that he would only receive the letter in the town, and not in the desert. The horsemen, finding that I was ready to shoot down the first two or three who should approach me, consulted with each other and then slowly fell back, relieving us from our anxious situation. But, though reassured of my own safety, I had my fears as to my servant and my two horses, and was greatly delighted when I saw them safely return from the water. However, our position soon became more secure in consequence of the arrival of Sídi A'lawáte, accompanied

by a troop of armed men, amongst whom there were some musketeers. It now remained to be decided what course we should pursue, and there was great indecision, Alawáte wanting to remain himself with me at the tents, while the Sheikh returned to the town.

But besides my dislike to stay any longer at the encampment, I had too little confidence in the younger brother of the Sheikh to trust my life in his hands, and I was therefore extremely delighted to find that El Bakáy himself, and Mohammed el 'Aísh, thought it best for me to return into the town. At the moment when we mounted our horses, a troop of Kélhekíkan, although not always desirable companions, mounted on mehára, became visible in the distance, so that in their company we re-entered Timbúktu, not only with full security, but with great *éclat*, and without a single person daring to oppose our entrance; though Hammádi, the Sheikh's rival, was just about to collect his followers in order to come himself and fight us at the tents. Frustrated in this plan, he came to my protector in his "msíd," or place of prayer in front of his house, and had a serious conversation with him, while the followers of the latter armed themselves in order to anticipate any treachery or evil design, of which they were greatly afraid. But the interview passed off quietly, and, keeping strict watch on the terrace of our house, we passed the ensuing night without further disturbance.

This happened on the 1st of December; and the following morning, in conformity with the Sheikh's

protest, that he would receive the emír of Hamda-Alláhi's letter only in Timbúktu, the messenger arrived; but the latter being a man of ignoble birth called Mohammed ben Sâíd, the character of the messenger irritated my host almost more even than the tenor of the letter, which ordered him to give me and my property up into the hands of his (the emír's) people. After having given vent to his anger, he sent for me, and handed me the letter, together with another which had been addressed to the emír Kaúri, and the whole community of the town, Whites as well as Blacks (el bedhán ú e' sudán), threatening them with condign punishment, if they should not capture me, or watch me in such a manner that I could not escape.

The serious character which affairs had assumed, and the entire revolution which my own personal business caused in the daily life of the community, were naturally very distressing to me, and nothing could be more against my wish than to irritate the fanatical and not powerless ruler of Hamda-Alláhi. It had been my most anxious desire from the beginning, to obtain the goodwill of this chief by sending him a present, but my friends here had frustrated my design; and even if in the beginning it had been possible, a supposition which is more than doubtful, considering the whole character of the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, it was now too late, as Séko A'hmedu had become my inveterate enemy, and I could only cling with the greater tenacity to the only trustworthy

protector whom I had here, the Sheikh El Bakáy. In acknowledgment therefore of his straightforward conduct, I sent him, as soon as I had again taken quiet possession of my quarters, some presents to distribute among the Tawárek, besides giving the head man of the latter a small extra gift, and some powder and Háusa cloth to distribute among our friends. However, my situation remained very precarious. As if a serious combat was about to ensue, all the inhabitants tried their firearms, and there was a great deal of firing in the whole town, while the Morocco merchants, with 'Abd e' Salám at their head, endeavoured to lessen the Sheikh's regard for me, by informing him that not even in their country (Morocco) were the Christians treated with so much regard, not only their luggage but even their dress being there searched on entering the country. But the Sheikh was not to be talked over in this manner, and adhered to me without wavering for a moment. He then sat down and wrote a spirited and circumstantial letter to Séko A'hmedu, wherein he reproached him with attempting to take out of his hands by force a man better versed in subjects of religion than he, the emír himself, who had come from a far distant country to pay him his respects, and who was his guest.

The following day, while I was in the company of the Sheikh, the emír Kaúri and the kádhi Sau-shírfu, together with several other principal personages, called upon him, when I paid my compliments to

them all, and found that the latter especially was a very respectable man. My friend had provided for any emergency, having sent to the Tademékket, requesting them urgently to come to his assistance; and, in the evening of the 6th of December, A'wáb, the chief of the Tin-ger-égedesh, arrived with fifty horse, and was lodged by El Bakáy in the neighbourhood of our quarters.

The next morning the Sheikh sent for me to pay my compliments to this chief. I found him a very stately person of a proud commanding bearing, clad in a jellába tobe, striped red and white, and ornamented with green silk, his head adorned with a high red cap, an article of dress which is very rarely seen here, either among the Tawárek or even the Arabs. Having saluted him, I explained to him the reason of my coming, and for what purpose I sought imána; and when he raised an objection on account of my creed, because I did not acknowledge Mohammed as a prophet, I succeeded in warding off his attack, by telling him that they themselves did not acknowledge Mohammed as the only prophet, but likewise acknowledged Músa, 'Aísa, and many others; and that, in reality, they seemed to acknowledge in a certain degree the superiority of 'Aísa, by supposing that he was to return at the end of the world; and that thus, while we had a different prophet, but adored and worshipped one and the same God, and, leaving out of the question a few divergencies in point of diet and morals, followed the same religious principles

as they themselves did, it seemed to me that we were nearer to each other than he thought, and might well be friends, offering to each other those advantages which each of us commanded.

We then came to speak about their history. I told him that I had visited their old dwelling-places in Aír, Tíggeda, and Tádmekka; but he was totally unaware of the fanciful derivation which the Arab authors have given to the latter name, viz. "likeness of Mekka," * which probably never belonged to one town in particular, but has always been the name of a tribe. He felt, however, very much flattered by this piece of information, and seemed extremely delighted, when I told him how old the Islám was in his tribe. My little knowledge of these historical and religious matters was of invaluable service to me, and particularly in this instance, for obtaining the esteem of the natives and for overcoming their prejudices; for while this chief himself scarcely understood a single word of Arabic, so that I could only speak with him in very broken Temáshight or Tárkíye, his brother, El Khattáf, was well versed in that language, and spoke it fluently.

Having left the people to converse among themselves, I returned to the Sheikh in the afternoon, taking with me a present for A'wáb, consisting of a chequered tobe (such as I have described on a for-

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 181. و معنى تادمكة هية مكة
See Cooley, "Negroland of the Arabs," p. 30, n. 52.

mer occasion*, and which are great favourites with these people), two túrkedí, and two black tesílgemíst, or shawls, besides another shawl and a handkerchief for his messenger, or mállem, who is the confidential factotum of every Tárki chief. He was as thankful as these barbarians can be, but wished to see something marvellous, as characteristic of the industry of our country; but I begged him to have patience, till, on some future occasion, some other person belonging to our nation should come to pay him a visit.

While I was staying there, a Púllo chief arrived from Gúndam with two companions, and reproached the Sheikh in my presence for having shown so much regard for an unbeliever, whose effects at least ought to have been delivered up to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi: but I imposed silence upon him, by showing him how little he himself knew of religious matters in calling me an unbeliever; and telling him, that if he had really any knowledge of, and faith in, his creed, his first duty was to try to convert those of his own countrymen who were still idolaters. At the same time I told the Tárki chief A'wáb, that it seemed to me as if they were afraid of the Fúlbe, or else they would certainly not allow them to molest travellers who visited this place with friendly intentions, while they could not even protect the natives.

* See Vol. II. p. 129.

In reply he alleged that they were by no means afraid of them, having vanquished them on a former occasion, but that they only awaited the arrival of their kinsfolk to show them that they were the real masters of Timbúktu.

To add to the conflict of these opposing interests, a great number of strangers were at this time collected in the town, most of whom were of a far more fanatical disposition than the inhabitants themselves, who, on the whole, are very good-natured. The Berabísh alone, who had come into the town with about one thousand camels carrying their salt, mustered one hundred and twenty horse, prepared, no doubt, to fight the Fullán, if the latter should attempt to levy the "ashúr," or the tithe, but still more hostilely disposed towards the Christian stranger who had intruded upon this remote corner, one of the most respected seats of the Mohammedan faith, and against whom they had a personal reason of hostility, as they were commanded by 'Alí, the son of Hámed Weled 'Abéda, the acknowledged murderer of Major Laing; and, of course, the news of my residence in the town, and of the hostile disposition of the Fúlbe, who had now been two months attempting in vain to drive me out of it, had spread far and wide.

This great influx of strangers into the town raised the price of all sorts of provisions, particularly that of Negro corn and rice, in a remarkable degree, the latter rising from 6000 to 7500 shells the "suníye," while the former, which a few days before had been

sold for 3750, equal at that time to one and a half "rás" of salt, rose to the exorbitant price of 6000 shells.

In the evening of the 7th, a slave suddenly arrived with the news that a letter had reached my address from the north. He was followed a short time afterwards by Mohammed el 'Aísh, who brought me the parcel, in question, which, however, had been opened. The letter was from Mr. Charles Dickson, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Ghadámes, dated June 18th, and enclosing, besides some recommendations to native merchants, a number of "Galignani," which informed me of the first movements of the Russians on the Danube. The Ghadámsíye people, who were the bearers of the letter, had already spread the news of a dreadful battle having been fought between the Turks and the Russians, in which 30,000 of the latter had been slain, and 40,000 made prisoners.

The following day A'wáb, who himself had arrived with fifty horsemen, was joined by his cousin Fandaghúmme with fifty more. This was very fortunate, for, about dhohor, the Fúlbe held a conference, or "kéndegáy," in the Géngeré-bér, or Jámà el Kebíra, where Hámed Weled Fàamme, the malignant and hostile kádhi, made a violent speech before the assembly, exhorting the people to go immediately and carry out the order of their liege lord the Sheikho A'hmedu, even if they were to fight conjointly against El Bakáy, A'wáb, and the emír

Kaúri, whom he represented as disobedient, and almost rebellious to his liege lord. A friend of the latter, who knew the cowardly disposition of the speaker, then rose in the assembly, and exhorted the kádhi to lead the van, and proceed to the attack, when every one would follow him. But the kádhi not choosing to expose his own person to danger nothing was done, and the assembly separated, every one going quietly to his home.

Meanwhile the two Tawárek chiefs, with their principal men, were assembled in the house of the Sheikh, where I went to meet them, but found them not quite satisfied with the part which they were acting. They entered into a warm dispute with me upon the subject of religion, but soon found themselves so perplexed, that they left it to the Sheikh to answer all my objections. A Protestant Christian may easily defend his creed against these children of the desert, as long as they have not recourse to arms.

Next morning we left the narrow lanes of Timbúktu, and entered upon the open sandy desert, accompanied by the two Tawárek chiefs, each of whom had fifteen companions. The tents being now further removed from the town, near the border of the inundations of the river, the camping ground was pleasant, and well adorned with trees; and having taken my own tent with me, where I could stretch myself out without being infested by the vermin which swarm in the native carpets, I enjoyed the open encampment extremely. Leathern tents had been pitched for the

Tawárek, who in a short time made themselves quite at home, and were in high spirits. They became very much interested in a map of Africa which I showed to them, with the adjoining shores of Arabia, and they paid a compliment to their prophet by kissing the site of Mekka.

Being thus on good terms with my barbaric veiled friends the Molathemún, I enjoyed extremely, the following morning, the half-desert scenery, enlivened as it was by horses, camels, cattle, and interesting groups of men; but about noon a serious alarm arose, a great many horses being seen in the distance, and the number being exaggerated by some people to as many as two hundred. In consequence, we saddled our horses with great speed, and I mounted with my servants, while the Tawárek also kept their animals in readiness; but the advancing host appeared rather of a peaceable character, consisting of about twenty-five of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, with Muláy 'Abd e' Salám and Fasídi, the latter a very noble old man, at their head. They came, however, on a very important errand, based on the direct order as promulgated by the emír of Hamda-Alláhi, and addressed to the whole community, being in hopes that, through their personal authority, they might obtain from my host, in a friendly manner, what he had denied to the display of force. They had two requests, both aimed against myself: first, that El Bakáy should give them a copy of the letter which I was said to have brought with me from Stambúl; and

the second, which was more explicit, that I should not return into the town. Now my firmán from Stambúl was my greatest trouble, for having anxiously requested Her British Majesty's Government to send such a document after me, I always expected to receive it by some means or other ; but I was not less disappointed in this respect, than in my expectation of receiving a letter of recommendation from Morocco; nevertheless, as I had some other letters from Mohammedans, the Sheikh promised to comply with the first demand of these people, while he refused to pay any attention to the second. After some unsuccessful negotiation, the messengers retraced their steps rather disheartened.

In order to attach more sincerely to my interest the Tawárek chiefs, who were my only supporters, I gave to Fandaghúmme a present equal to the one I had given to A'wáb. Next morning there arrived a troop of fugitives who were anxious to put themselves under the protection of the Sheikh. They belonged to the tribe of the Surk, who, from being the indigenous tribe on that part of the Niger which extends on both sides of the lake Debu, had been degraded, in the course of time, to the condition of serfs, and were threatened by the fanatical Sheikho A'hmedu with being sold into slavery. Of course it is the Sheikh El Bakáy's policy to extend his protection to whatever quarter is threatened by the Fúlbe; but, in this case, sympathy with the miserable fate of these poor people led him to interfere.

It was near sunset when we mounted in order to return into the town; and on the way I kept up a conversation with A'wáb, till the time of the mughreb prayer arrived, when the whole of my friends went to pray on the desert ground, while I myself, remaining on horseback, went a little on one side of the track. My companions afterwards contended that it was from motives of pride and arrogance that I did not humble myself in the dust before the Almighty. I should certainly have liked to kneel down and thank Providence for the remarkable manner in which my life had hitherto been preserved; but I did not deem it politic to give way to their mode of thinking and worship in any respect; for I should have soon been taken for a Mohammedan, and once in such a false position, there would have been no getting out of it.

We then entered the town amidst the shouts of the people, who, by the appearance of the moon, had just discovered, as is very often the case in these regions, that they had been a day out in their reckoning, and that the following day was the festival of the Mulúd, or the birthday of Mohammed; and I was allowed to take quiet possession of my quarters.

The same evening I had an interesting conversation with the chief A'wáb, who paid me a long visit, in company with his mallem, and gave me the first account of the proceedings of that Christian traveller Mungo Park (to use his own words), who, about fifty years ago, came down the river in a large boat; describing the manner in which he had

been first attacked by the Tawárek below Kábara, where he had lost some time in endeavouring to open a communication with the natives, while the Tin-ger-égedesh forwarded the news of his arrival, without delay, to the Igwádaren, who, having collected their canoes, attacked him, first near Bamba, and then again at the narrow passage of Tósaye*, though all in vain; till at length, the boat of that intrepid traveller having stuck fast at Ensýmmo (probably identical with Ansóngo), the Tawárek of that neighbourhood made another fierce and more successful attack, causing him an immense deal of trouble, and killing, as A'wáb asserted, two of his Christian companions. He also gave me a full account of the iron hook with which the boat was provided against hippopotami and hostile canoes; and his statement altogether proved what an immense excitement the mysterious appearance of this European traveller, in his solitary boat, had caused among all the surrounding tribes.

This chief being very anxious to obtain some silver, I thought it best, in order to convince all the people that I had no dollars left (although I had saved about twenty for my journey to Háusa), to give him my silver knife and fork, besides some large silver rings which I had by me; and he was very glad to have

* The Tawárek must have attacked Park either far above or below this narrow passage, where, as I afterwards found, the current is very strong; and, as I shall relate further on, he seems to have passed quietly by Tin-sherífen.

obtained a sufficient quantity of this much-esteemed metal for adorning his beloved wife.

These Tawárek chiefs who had thus become well disposed towards me, through the interference of the Sheikh, wrote an excellent letter of franchise for any Englishman visiting this country, thus holding out the first glimmer of hope of a peaceable intercourse. But my own experience leaves no room for doubt that these chiefs are not strong enough of themselves to defend a Christian against the attacks of the Fúlbe in the upper course of the river above Timbúktu, besides the fact that A'wáb is too nearly connected with the latter to be entirely trusted. It was on this account that my host esteemed his cousin Fandaghúmme much higher, and placed greater reliance on him, although the actual chieftainship rested with A'wáb. All this business, however, together with the writing of the letter to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, which was rejected in several forms, and caused a great many representations from the chief men of the town, proved extremely tedious to me. My health, too, at that time was in a very indifferent condition, and I suffered repeatedly from attacks of fever. In a sanitary point of view, Timbúktu can in no wise be reckoned among the more favoured places of these regions. Both Sansándi and Ségo are considered more healthy. But, notwithstanding my sickly state, I had sufficient strength left to finish several letters, which, together with a map of the western part of

the desert, I intended sending home by the first opportunity.

As the waters increased more and more, and began to cover all the lowlands, I should have liked very much to rove about along those many backwaters which are formed by the river, in order to witness the interesting period of the rice harvest, which was going on just at this time. It was collected in small canoes, only the spikes of the upper part of the stalks emerging from the water. But new rice was not brought into the town till the beginning of January, and then only in small quantities, the sáa being sold for 100 shells.

December 19th. This was an important day: important to the Mohammedans as the ʿAíd e' subúwa, and celebrated by them with prayers and séddega, or alms; and not unimportant for myself, for my relation to the town's-people had meanwhile assumed a more serious character. Sheikho (Séko) A'hmedu had threatened, that if the inhabitants of Timbúktu did not assist in driving me out of the town, he would cut off the supply of corn. This induced the emír Kaúri to undertake a journey to the capital, in order to prevent the malicious intrigues of the kádhi Weled Fáamme, who was about to embark for that place, from making matters worse.

I have stated before, that, together with the caravan of the Berabísh (the plural of Berbúshi), which had arrived on the 12th with a considerable armed host, ʿAlí, the son of the old sheikh A'hmed, or Hámed,

Weled 'Abéda, had come to Timbúktu; and, seeing that I was a great friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy, he had not come to pay his compliments to the latter, but had pitched his camp outside the town, and his people manifested their hostility towards me on several occasions. But, by a most providential dispensation, on the seventeenth the chief fell suddenly sick, and in the morning of the nineteenth he died. His death made an extraordinary impression upon the people, as it was a well-known fact that it was his father who had killed the former Christian who had visited this place; and the more so, as it was generally believed that I was Major Laing's son.

It was the more important, as the report had been generally spread that, as I have observed before, the Welád Slímán, the principal and most noble section of the Berabísh, had sworn to kill me; and the people could not but think that there was some supernatural connection between the death of this man, at this place and at this period, and the murderous deed perpetrated by his father: and, on the whole, I cannot but think that this event exercised a salutary influence upon my final safety. The followers of the chief of the Berabísh were so frightened by this tragical event that they came in great procession to the Sheikh El Bakáy, to beg his pardon for their neglect, and to obtain his blessing; nay, the old man himself, a short time afterwards, sent word, that he would in no way interfere with my departure, but wished nothing better than that I might

reach home in safety. The excitement of the people on account of my stay here thus settled down a little, and the party of the Fúlbe seemed quietly to await the result produced by the answer which the Sheikh had forwarded to Hamda-Alláhi.

On the 21st December we again went in the afternoon to the tents. For the first time since my arrival in this town, I rode my own stately charger, which, having remained so many months in the stable, feeding upon the nutritive grass of the býrgu, had so completely recruited his strength that in my desperately weak state I was scarcely able to manage him. The desert presented a highly interesting spectacle. A considerable stream, formed by the river, poured its waters with great force into the valleys and depressions of this sandy region, and gave an appearance of truth to the fabulous statement* of thirty-six rivers flowing through this tract. After a few hours' repose, I was able to keep up a long conversation with the Sheikh in the evening, about Paradise and the divine character of the Kurán. This time our stay at the tents afforded more opportunity than usual for interesting conversation, and bore altogether a more religious character, my protector being anxious to convince his friends and followers of the depth of the faith of the Christians; and I really lamented that circumstances did not allow me to enter so freely into the details of the creed of these people,

* See one of these native reports in Duncan's account of his exploration in Dahome. Journal Geog. Soc. vol. xvi. p. 157.

and to make myself acquainted with all its characteristics, as I should have liked.

Part of the day the Sheikh read and recited to his pupils chapters from the hadíth of Bokhári, while his young son repeated his lesson aloud from the Kurán, and in the evening several surát, or chapters, of the holy book were beautifully chanted by the pupils, till a late hour of the night. There was nothing more charming to me than to hear these beautiful verses chanted by sonorous voices in this open desert country, round the evening fire, with nothing to disturb the sound, which softly reverberated from the slope of the sandy downs opposite. A Christian must have been a witness to such scenes in order to treat with justice the Mohammedans and their creed. Let us not forget that, but for the worship of images and the quarrels about the most absurdly superstitious notions which distracted the Christian Church during the seventh century, there would have been no possibility of the establishment of a new creed based on the principles of Monotheism, and opposed in open hostility to Christianity. Let us also take into account that the most disgusting feature attaching to the morals of Mohammedans has been introduced by the Mongolish tribes from Central Asia, and excited the most unqualified horror in the founder of the religion.

Peace and security seemed to prevail in this little encampment. In general the whole of this region to the north of the river is entirely free from beasts of prey, with the exception of jackals; but

at present, together with the rising water, which had entirely changed the character of these districts, a lion had entered this desert tract, and one day killed three goats, and the following one two asses, one of which was remarkable for its great strength.

Remaining here a couple of days, on the evening of the 25th we had again a long conversation, which was very characteristic of the different state of mind of the Christian in comparison with that of the Mohammedan. While speaking of European institutions, I informed my host of the manner in which we were accustomed to insure property by sea as well as on land, including even harvests, nay, even the lives of the people. He appeared greatly astonished, and was scarcely able to believe it; and while he could not deny that it was a good "debbára," or device, for this world, he could not but think, as a pious Moslim, that such proceedings might endanger the safety of the soul in the next. However, he was delighted to see that Christians took such care for the welfare of the family which they might leave behind; and it was an easy task to prove to him that, as to making profits in any way whatever, his co-religionists, who think any kind of usury unlawful, were in no way better than the Christians; for, although the former do not openly take usury, they manage affairs so cleverly that they demand a much higher per centage than any honest Christian would accept. I had a fair opportunity of citing, as an

instance, one of those merchants resident in Timbúktu, to whom I had been recommended by Mr. Dickson, and who had consented to advance me a small loan, under such conditions that he was to receive almost triple the sum which he was to lend.

This day was also an important epoch for the inhabitants of the place, the water having entered the wells, which are situated round the southern and south-western part of the town; and this period, which is said to occur only about every third year, obtains the same importance here as the "lélet e' nuktah" possesses with the inhabitants of Cairo*; viz. the day or night on which the dyke which separates the canal from the river is cut. The whole road from Kábara was now so inundated that it was no longer passable for asses, and small boats very nearly approached the town. December 25th.

When my host made his appearance on the morning of the 26th, he was not as usual clad in a black tobe, but in a red kaftán, with a white cloth bernús over it. He began speaking most cheerfully about my approaching departure, and had the camels brought before me, which now looked infinitely better than when they were last conveyed from the other bank of the river; but as I had become fully aware of his dilatory character, I did not place much reliance upon the hope which he held out to me of soon entering upon my home journey. We had heard of

* Lane's Modern Egyptians, ed. 1836, vol. ii. p. 255.

the messenger whom he had sent to the Awelímmiden, in order to induce the chief of that tribe to come to Timbúktu and to take me under his protection, having reached the settlements of that tribe; but I was aware that the opposite party would do all in their power to prevent the chief from approaching the town, as they were fully conscious that the Sheikh wanted to employ him and his host of warlike people, in order to subdue the Fullán and the faction opposed to his own authority.

December 27th. Feeling my head much better, and having recruited my strength with a diet of meat and milk, I began to enjoy the rehála life, and, it being a beautiful morning, I took a good walk to an eminence situated at some distance north of my tent, from whence I had a distant view of the landscape. The country presented an intermediate character between the desert and a sort of less favoured pasture ground, stretching out in an undulating surface, with a sandy soil tolerably well clad with middle-sized acacias and with thorny bushes, where the goat finds sufficient material for browsing. The streams of running water which, with their silvery threads, enlivened these bare desert tracts, now extended a considerable distance farther inland than had been the case a few days before; and the whole presented a marvellous and delightful spectacle, which, no doubt, must fill travellers from the north who reach Timbúktu at such a season with astonishment. Hence, on their return home, they spread the report of

those numerous streams which are said to join the river at that remarkable place, while, on the contrary, these streams issue *from* the river, and after running inland for a short time, return to join the main trunk, though of course with decreased volume, owing to absorption and evaporation.

All the people of the town who did not belong to any trade or profession, together with the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, were still busily employed with the rice harvest; and this was a serious affair for my horses, a much smaller quantity of býrgu, that is to say, of that excellent nutritious grass of the Niger, which I have had repeatedly occasion to mention, being brought into the town. Meanwhile the price of the merchandise from the north went on increasing. A piece of khám, or malti (unbleached calico), now sold for 5700 shells (at least on the 26th of January), but in the beginning of February it rose to 7200; this fluctuation in the prices constitutes the profit of the merchants, who buy their supplies on the arrival of a caravan and store it up.

The commercial activity of the town had received some further increase, owing to the arrival of another caravan from Tawát, with black Háusa manufactures, tobacco, and dates, so that I was able to lay in a good store of this latter luxury, which is not always to be got here, but which, in the cold season, is not at all to be despised. Besides receiving a handsome present of dates from my noble Tawáti friend

Mohammed el 'Aísh, I bought two measures (neffek) and a half of the kind called tin-áser for 4000 shells; for the "tin-akór," the most celebrated species of dates from Tawát, were not to be procured at this time.* As for tobacco, I did not care a straw about it, and in this respect I might have been on the very best terms with my fanatical friends, the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, who offer such a determined opposition to smoking upon religious principles. In a commercial respect, however, tobacco forms a more important article in the trade of Timbúktu than dates, although refined smokers here prefer the tobacco of Wádí-Nún to that of Tawát. But even these had an opportunity of gratifying their inclination at this season, for only two days after the arrival of the Tawáti caravan, a small troop of Tájakánt traders, with eighty camels, entered the town. The feud which raged between the different sections of this tribe, which, as I stated before, chiefly keeps up the commercial relations of Timbúktu with the north, on the one hand, and the war raging between the whole of this tribe and the E'rgebát on the other, interrupted at this time almost entirely the peaceable intercourse between Timbúktu and the southern region of Morocco.

The arrival of these people enabled me to purchase

* The other kinds of dates of Tawát are: A'hartán, Tigáze, Tazarzay, Tin-waríggelí, Tedemámet, Bú-Makhlúf, Tin-kásseri, Tin-dokán, Tin-nijdel, Tilímsu, Timbozéri, Adíkkeli, Gófagús, Dággelet-núr. The district of Aúléf is the most famous for its dates.

half a weight of sugar, equal to six pounds and a quarter, with a corresponding quantity of tea (viz. half a pound), for three dollars; for, as I have said before, there had been no sugar previously in the market. Even when there is plenty, neither tea nor sugar can be bought separately. These articles must be bought together. It is remarkable that a similar custom is still prevalent in many parts of Europe, and even in this country.

The arrival of these Tájakánt procured me also the luxury of a couple of pomegranates, which had been brought by them from the Gharb, and which gave me an opportunity of expostulating with the Sheikh on the disgraceful circumstance, that such fruits as these are now only procurable from the north, while this country itself might produce them quite as well, and had in reality done so in former times. Even limes are not at present grown hereabouts, and it was only from Jenni that I had obtained some days previously a few specimens of this delicious kind of fruit, which grows in such plenty in Kanó, and which might be raised in almost any part of this region. Thus closed the year 1853, leaving me in a most unsettled position in this desert place.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE OF ZA'NFARA.

THE province of *Zánfara* in former times was far more extensive than at present, its ancient capital being situated half a day (hantsi) east from Sansánne 'Aísa on the road to Tóze, and this is perhaps Birni-n-Zánfara, founded by the powerful chief Babári about a century ago. At that time the province was a powerful kingdom; but at present it is in the most distracted condition, half of the places belonging to it being still under the rule of the Fúlbe, while the other half have revolted successfully, and are strictly allied with the Góberáwa.

Under the rule of the Fúlbe or Fullán, are the following places: —

Zýrmi, with three governors: one, A'bu Hámid, who has ruled (in 1853) seven, another Tarna, who has ruled fifteen years, and a third one, a younger brother of Tarna, but who has exercised power for thirty years *; Káuri-n-Namóda, at present governed by Mahamúdu, a younger brother of the warlike and far-famed chief Namóda, who has ruled for the last twelve years; Búnka, Bóka, Góga, Yánkaba, Dába, Banga, Birni-n-Máddera, Módiki, Moríki with Ne-ébbúsuwa, Koré with Makauru, Dunfáwa, Dúchi, Badaráwa, Katúru, Kanna, Dan I'sa, Waúnaka-n-Féllani (in order to distinguish it from another town of the same name, which is allied with the Góberáwa), Yangwoy, Kiáwa, Rúra, Waúni, Jirgába, Gabáke, Kangwa, Kadámusá, Yanbúkki, Také-adoy, Birni-

* Formerly there was in Zýrmi a powerful governor belonging to the faction of the Góberáwa, called Dan Jéka, who ruled twenty years, when he was murdered by Mámmedu (Mohámmedu).

n-Mágaji, Birni-n-Torówa or Márekay, with Dan Korgú, Tuddu Makángerí, Ráwiya, Bidáji, Chíbiri.

The independent places are the following:—

A'nka, residence of 'Abdú, the rebel chief of Zánfara (Serkí-n-Zánfara); Máffara, residence of Serkí-n-Tléta; Gummi, residence of the chief Banyári; Zóma, residence of 'Alí, and close by Gólli; Sabónbirni Dáragá, residence of Bánagá; Marádu, residence of Serkí-n-Káya; Gáumaché and Góra close by; Mátusgí, residence of Ajía; Gárbadú and Kággará, Munré, Bokúra, residence of Serkí-n-Báwa; Damrí, Sabóngarí, Dúffwa Máffará, a district, with the chief place, Rúwa-n-bóre; Dankó, U'ya.

In order to arrange these places topographically, I shall first give *an itinerary from Kanó to Sókoto*, by way of Káuri-n-Namóda:—

1st day. Rími-n-Gadó.

2nd. Shá-nóno, a large walled place, having passed Yángadá.

3rd. Kúrkejám or Kúrkejángo, first place of the province of Kátsena, having passed Sábberé.

4th. Músáwa, a large walled town, with a market; short march.

5th. Yá-mántemáki, with a watercourse on its east side, running south; having passed U'ngwa Sámia.

6th. Sáwi, having passed Yá-músa, Shawáre, and Jigáwa.

7th. Ajja, a walled place of middle size.

8th. Kiáwa, very large walled place, formerly the capital of Zánfara, at present rather thinly inhabited.

9th. Káuri-n-Namóda, residence of Namóda (brother of Mahamúdu), with a market held every Monday and Tuesday, and a considerable watercourse on the west side, once a very large and populous place. A short day's march south, a little west from this place, lies Riyáwa (not Ránia), and west from it Búngundú, at present said to be the largest place in

Zánfara among those which belong to the faction of the Féllani; to its district or territory belong the smaller places of Alíbawá, Bidáji, Kasaráwa, Módomáwa, Fáddamáwa, Kontambáni, and the settlements of the Féllani-n-Dáwaki, and the Féllani-n-Také-adoy.

10th. Birni-n-Góga, on the east side of the same watercourse.

11th. Kúsará, a small place inhabited by Fúlbe.

12th. Gwára, large walled place, having crossed a watercourse.

13th. Bakúra, large walled place, formerly residence of 'Atíku, the son of Hámedu, till the town was taken by the Góberáwa. To the territory of this town belong the places: Sabóngarí, Dámmerí, Sála, Dogóje.

Bakúra from A'nka one long day south, farther than Gándi from Wurnó; Bakúra from Gándi one good day south, passing by Gáumaché. The river forms a large bend west of Bakúra, and at the angle lies Týmba.

14th. Týmba, walled place on the west side of the Gúlbi-n-Bakúra, at present in the hands of the A'zena. Between Týmba and Bakúra lie the towns Birni-n-Dámbo and Birni-n-Riyáde, and hereabouts are the places Alíbaná, Bidáji, Kasaráwa, Féllani-n-Dáwaki, Féllani-n-Také-adoy, Módomáwa, Fáddamáwa, Kontambáni.

15th. Galádi or Danfa, large place, with a pond of stagnant water.

16th. A place of elephant hunters.

17th. Sókoto.

I shall now connect Bánagá, or rather Sabónbirni Dáragá, as it is more properly called, with a few other places, and shall then conclude this Appendix, reserving for Appendix

III. an enumeration of the towns and villages situated along the course of the Gúlbi-n-Zóma to where it joins the Gúlbi-n-Sókoto.

From Bánagá to A'nka is one long day north, just as from Gándi to Wurnó; from Bánagá to Gúmmi three days W.N.W.

1st day. Adébka, Garí-n-serkí-Kiyáwa.
2nd. Birni-n-Týddu, on the south side of the Gúlbi-n-Zóma.
3rd. Gúmmi, passing by the town of Kaiwa.

From Bánagá to Kotórkoshé six moderate days' march.

1st. Bíni or Béna.
2nd. Mutúmji.
3rd. Mágami.
4th. Samrí.
5th. Cháfe.
6th. Kotórkoshé.

N.B. Besides Bíni and Mutúmji, there are in the same quarter, the district enclosed between Bánagá, Kotú-n-kúra — Kotú-n-kúra being from Bánagá two days S.W., — and Gwári, the small principalities of Machéri, Bána, Morébbu, and Kumbáshi, all residences of petty chiefs, dependent in some degree on the governor of Kátsena.

Between Bakúra and Zóma lie Damrí, Sabóngarí, Sála, Takáre; further on, entering the territory of Zóma, Dangarúnfa, Másu, Matsáfa, Gúsará, Bókuyum, Solli.

From Sókoto to Zóma, south, three days: — first day, Danchádi, the same as from Sókoto to Wurnó; then a long night's march, reaching in the morning Birni-n-Mágaji, distance the same as that from Zékka to Búnka; from Mágaji to Zóma short march. From Gandó the distance is shorter.

Zóma lies about half way between A'nka and Gúmmi, on a river called after it, Gúlbi-n-Zóma; but I shall give all the particulars with regard to the towns lying along this valley

further on in Appendix IV., as this river, which, lower down, is called Gúlbi-n-Gíndi, unites with the Gúlbi-n-Sókoto within the boundaries of Kebbi.

I here subjoin a list of the places situated along the water-course, which lower down is called "Gúlbi-n-Sókoto," between Sansánne-'Aísa and Dímbisó, but at present almost all of them are destroyed and deserted: first, Tóze on the south side; Gawángasó, where the branch of Marádi and Chéberi joins the greater trunk valley; Alkaláwa (written Alkadháwa), the former capital of Góber, destroyed by the Fúlbe, Laijínge, both south; Páday, north; Tsámay, north; Tsíche, north; Bóre, south; Kakákia, north; Márennú, south; Maráfa, south; Kiráre, north; Shináka, south; Giyáwa, Dímbisó. The valley, which probably has a very winding course, must therefore approach Giyáwa a little nearer than it has been laid down on the map.

APPENDIX II.

A FEW HISTORICAL FACTS RELATING TO GO'BER AND ZA'NFARA.

(*a.*) *Princes of Góber.*

Sóba residing in Magále, one day west from Chébiri, made war against Gurma and Barba (Bargu), beyond the river Kwára, wherein he discovered a ford.

U'ba Ashé succeeded to Sóba.

Babári, King of Góber, reigned about fifty years, was introduced by the chief men of Zánfara into Birni-n-Zánfara, then a wealthy place, and the centre of an important commerce (1764), which he conquered and destroyed; whereupon he founded Alkaláwa, which then became the capital of Góber. This was the origin of the national hatred which exists between the Góberáwa and Zánfaráwa.

Dángudé, killed by the A'sbenáwa.

Báwa, with the surname Mayáki, the warrior, on account of his restless and warlike character. During the eight years of his reign he only remained forty days in Alkaláwa, waging war the whole time.

Yákoba, a younger brother of Báwa, reigned seven years, was killed by Agoréggi, the ruler of Kátsena, which place appears at that time to have reached its highest degree of power.

Búnu reigned seven years, died in Alkaláwa.

Yúnfa reigned forty-four years.

Dáne or Dan Yúnfa reigned six years, made war against 'Othmán the Reformer, son of Fódiye, when he was killed by Bello, son of 'Othmán at the taking of Alkaláwa.

Sálehu dan Babáliwá resided in Mázum, reigned two years, till killed by Bello.

Gómki, seven years, slain by Bello.

'Alí, eighteen years, according to others twelve, slain by the Fúlbe, together with Ráuda serkí-n-Kátsena.

Jibbo Táwuba reigned seven years, according to others three years, residing in Marádi.

Báchiri seven months.

The present King of Góber, generally known under the name of Mayáki, the warrior, on account of his martial disposition, son of Yákoba, has ruled since 1836.

(*b.*) *A few data with reference to the ruling families in Sókoto and Gandó.*

Bello built Sókoto, while 'Othmán was residing in Gandó; from hence the latter went to Sifáwa, or Shifáwa, thence to Sókoto, where he resided ten years more.

Rulers of Sókoto.

'Othmán died 3 Jumád II. 1817 (A. H. 1233), aged sixty-four years, having resided thirteen years in Gandó and Sifáwa, and ten in Sókoto.

Bello, twenty-one years, died 25 Rejeb, 1837 (A. H. 1253), aged fifty-eight years.

'Atíku, another son of 'Othmán, succeeded him, reigned five years three months, died in the beginning of 1843.

Alíyu, son of Bello, had reigned ten (lunar) years four months in April, 1853.

Rulers of Gandó.

Abd Alláhi died 1827, Wednesday, A. H. 20 Moharrem, 1245.

Mohammed Wáni died 1836, A. H. 4 Ramadhán, 1250.

Khalílu was, A. D. 1853, in the eighteenth year of his reign.

Children of Fódiye son of Mohammed.

'Alí, father of Módibo 'Alí,
Sheikh 'Othmán,
'Abd-Alláhi,
Hotíhun Máunuma,
Enhatákko, a daughter,
} all born of one mother.

Mameñáro,
Elfá 'Omáro,
Mamma Júma, still alive,
Bakódda,
} born of different mothers.

Children of 'Othmán dan Fódiye.

Mohammed Bisáda.
Sambo Wulíy.
Bello.
'Atíku.
Mohammed Bokhári, a very learned man died 1840, A. H. the 23 Háj, 1255, aged fifty-five years three months.
Hassan, father of Khalílu dan Hassan.
Mohammed Hájo.
'Abd el Kádiri.
Hámed el Rufáy,
'Isa,
} alive still, the former residing in Tózo.

'Alí Jédi, the father of A'bú 'l Hassan, serkí-n-yáki; Moéji, an influential chief of the tribe of the Wolóbe; and the serkí-n-Syllebáwa, were the three principal advisers of 'Othmán dan Fódiye, and were the persons who placed his successor, Bello, upon the throne.

(*c.*) *Fúlbe Tribes.*

Divisions of the Féllani-n-Sókoto.

Torunkáwa, Toróde, or Tórobe.
Torunkáwa Sabúni, thus called, because, when as yet nothing but mállemín, or learned men, they pre-

pared much soap in order to keep their dress of the purest white.

Wolárbe, in Kebbi
Féllani-n-Konne.
U'da, herdsmen.
Kasaráwa, in Zóma.
'Alebáwa, in Zýrmi.
'Aláwa, in Kámmané.
Bidazáwa, in Dánkogí.
Féllani-n-danéji, in Kátsena.
Féllani-n-Delláji, in Kátsena.
Féllani-n-Bebéji.
Féllani-n-Yandótu.
Gezáwa.
Gátari, Féllani-n-Rúma.
Féllani-n-Takabáwa.
Jaúbe, dengi-n-'Othmán (the family of 'Othmán).

Féllani-n-A'dar.

Mansúbin Mohammedáni.
Bálerankoyen.
Ráneranko yen.
Barénganko yen, dengi-n-'Abd el Kádiri.
Tamankoye.
Kugga.
Tánagamáwa.
Sunsunkoyen.
Kofayenkoyen.
Hirlábe.
Chiláwa.
Alínkoyen.
Alkámunkoyen.
Gúmborankoyen.
Bórotankoyen.
Sékke.

Mábberankoyen.
Sísankoyen.
Wewébe.
Bororoye.
Gurgábe.

The Governors of A'dar.

To the N.E. of Sókoto lies the province of A'dar, with the chief market-place Konni, ruled by four different chiefs or sáraki: —

Serkí-n-A'dar Hámidu, belonging to the Tauzamáwa, in A'zaw, a place four days north from Wurno, fortified with a keffi or stockade.

Serkí-n-A'dar Mallem, likewise of the Tauzamáwa, in Illéle, five days from Wurno, with keffi; one day from A'zaw.

Serkí-n-A'dar Yákoba, also Tauzamáwa, in Táwa, six days from Wurno, one from Illéle.

Serkí-n-A'dar Sheríf, in Tsambo, four days from Wurno, one S.W. from A'zaw.

APPENDIX III.

Gímmul Sékho 'Othmáno.	Song of Sheikh 'Othmán.
Alláho lámido dum essaláto burdo fukka :	God, the Lord, he exeels all in superiority :
Domáda yá A'hmedu jenído lesde fukka	He is greater than you, A'hmed (Mohammed) ; His light illumines the whole earth.
Alláho gettaini omóje omojínde neïmmo fukka.	I praise the Lord God, who sent his blessing [mercy ?].
Neloimo A'hmedu hinne kúbdo takélle fukka.	He sent A'hmed to all his creatures.
Annóro makko yokám wóni ásseli tákeli fukka :	His light shines over all his creatures :
Annóro hakkíllo non annóro gíde fukka :	the light of intelligence, as well as that of sight, all-comprising ;
Annóro Imáni Mumeníye toháute fukka ;	the splendour of the Imám of the Faithful reaches everywhere ;
Annóro yímbe Wiláya ka ánnaba kó fukka :	all the splendour of the Weli [holy men] and of the prophets :
Nange he léuru he móbgel jenatódi fukka,	and when sun and moon unite all that is splendid,
Fandáki ússuru jellimmádo fukka.	their light does not reach His resplendence.
Alláho búrnerí I'brahíma tákele fukka.	God blessed Abraham among the whole of his creatures.
Bolídel wolwíde Músa der togéfe fukka.	Moses obtained eloquence among mankind.
Ahókki I'sa bosémbido roibo róho fukka.	To Jesus was given strength and spirit.
Amóbda mágiki bóluki non boyíde fukka.	Thou hast obtained a sight of Him (of God) ; thou hast obtained eloquence and authority.

Alláho kamsódi A'damu der togéfe fukka.	God has distinguished Adam among all mankind.
Nan súbtedí Núhu I'brahíma woddu fukka ;	Thus Noah and Abraham were distinguished in all their dealings ;
Kuréshe Háshimo der baléje makko fukka.	Kurésh and Háshem in their dwellings.
Wolláhe ansúbtida hesobbábe Alla fukka.	By God thou hast been distinguished over all God's creatures.
Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés hekalfiníma :	All the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, bless thee :
Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés hetammihíma :	all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, praise thee :
Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés bebé chappeníma :	all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, salute thee :
Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés hedótaníma :	all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, do homage to thee :
Kaunay halfeníma awesíle tákele fukka :	all that is blessed in creation is blessed through thee.
Subábe der takéile fú ídemá gamídemá bechúbba :	all those who have been distinguished among the creatures, have been distinguished on thy account :
Libábe der takélle fú gam gaingumá belíba.	all that has been created, has been created through thy grace.
Ajéjiam ojúdiam gardoimi dótoma noném bo :	On account of thy blessing have I come to thee :
Gam nómbo hajá mererrétadúm tomá.	for such a purpose have I addressed thee.
Gam derje mábe [mada?] deúm turoye dwaíjima.	May God hear my prayer through thy grace.

APPENDIX IV.

PARTITION OF KEBBI.

KEBBI, ACCORDING TO ITS PARTITION BETWEEN THE EMPIRE OF SÓKOTO AND THAT OF GANDO.

Garúrua-n-Kebbi, rába-n-ʿAlíyu.

That portion of Kebbi which belongs to ʿAlíyu.

Jekáwadú, Tózo (the residence of Rufáy, a younger brother of Bello), Dánkala, Siláme, Gandí, Koido, Kalámmi, Birni-n-Gungu, Bubúche, Aúgi*, Tiggi, Lelába, Fadisúnko, Méra, all along the gulbi-n-Sókoto, Dundáy, B. Gómashé, Sébera (close by the latter), Punári, Dangádi, B. Gamínda, Bakále, B. Rúwa, Bínji, Gammagamma, Lokkëáwa or Lukuyáwa, Bodínga, B. Magebéshi, Jarédi, B. Dandi, Danchádi, Wabábi, Bádo, Fóro, Sirgi, Asáre, Gangam, B. Buldi, Shagári, Gadaráre, Bulonáki, Kajíji, Jábo, Yábo

* Aúgi and Méra, the principal towns of Kebbi, together with Koido, were destroyed by ʿAlíyu. Aúgi was situated N. from Señína, the same distance as from Gáwasú to Sókoto, from Argúngo E.N.E. eight or ten miles. Opposite Aúgi the dallul Gamínda joins the gulbi-n-Kebbi from the N., and along it lie the following places: Birni-n-Gamínda, B. Rúwa, Bakále, Alkalíji, Bizzer, Sakibiyáre, B. Buldi, Múza, Baiyáwa, Dankal, Bubúche, close to the junction, and about eight or ten miles from Argúngu.

(two towns of the name), Sañína, Kalángu, Saláhu, Mandéra, Baiwa, Dankal or Dánkala, Gudáli, Dukké, Bangáwa, Gudúm, Réré, Tiggi, Bágura on the N. shore of gulbi-n-Kebbi, Nátsini, Kalílladán, Deména (near Aúgi), Túwo-n-sóro (W. near Aúgi), Bangáwa, Kaláng (W. of Sañína), Matánkarí, Illéla, Gajáre, Dútsi-n-Kúra, Gankay (E. from Aúgi), B.-n-Chéra, B. Yaréndi, Sassagíre, Bónkarí, Díddibá, Gannajáë, Arába, Daráye, Túmmuní (E. of Aúgi), two towns of the name of Físsena, one of them inhabited by Syllebáwa, Gallujíul garí-n-Syllebáwa, Gínnega, Baúje G. Syllebáwa, O'ri, Bäärò, Kubódo, Laini, Gerteràna (E. of Dánkala), Tuddú-Mankéri, Denke (Syllebáwa,) Girábshi, Kalambéna (W. of Sókoto), B. Gésseré (Syllebáwa), Hausáwa, Díngadí (Syllebáwa), Badáwa, Gúmbi, Arkílla, B. Wásaké (Toronkáwa), Danajíwa, B. Séfe, Akátukú, Rékiná, Shúni, Damba, Ríyo Sínsirgá, Bagaráwa, Báregay, Sangaláwa (Syllebáwa), Basoyí (or Bajoyí), Bámgi, B.-n-Bodáye, B. Wagérro, Dange, Rúdu, Sabadáwa, Sesséda, Gájará, Gántamó, Lámbo, Dangéda, Sárufé, Kutútturú, B.-n-Gínnegá, Sifáwa, Jarédi, Gingáwa, Kimba, Chilgóri, Alkalíji, A'diga, Dandángel, B.-n-Musúro, Dagáwa, Rumde-maunde (the great slave hamlet), Faká, Dóno, Búlbulí, Woäké (baki-n-dáji: on the border of the wilderness), Zanzómo, B.-n-Sárahó, Danehádi, B.-n-Fóro (between Sókoto and Zóma: mountainous), B.-n-Gírgirí, Gájerá, Dángoré, Bádo, B.-n-Fakku (on the rock), B. Pangalalla, B. Móza, Yakurútu (all W. from Sókoto), Gudáli, Labáni, Gédembé, Girébshi, Baidi, Gáwazé (garí-n-Bonkáno), B.-n-Mamman Gabdú (W. of Gajúre), Löagóbi, Máchisí (garí-n-Róba), Innáme, Ajóge, B.-n-Gungúnge, Kámbamá, Gertaràna, Suráme, Léka, B.-n-Fílfilé, B.-n-Kókilo (now deserted), Lokóko.

I here enumerate the towns and villages along the *gulbi-n-Zóma*, although only part of them belong to Kebbi. This is a branch which joins the gulbi-n-Sókoto at the town of Gindí, about eight miles S.E. from and opposite Bunza,

and is equal to it in the quantity of water, although the whole valley (or fáddama) is said not to be of the same width. Commencing from Bámaga you pass on the S. side of the river the town of Zóma, which has given its name to the river, and is situated half-way between A'nka and Gummi, and three good days S. from Sókoto — starting from Sókoto you reach Danchádi, at the same distance as Wurno; thence to Mágaji, a long night's march the same distance as from Zekka to Bunka; from here Zóma, the same distance as Rába from Wurno; then you pass Dan Garúnfa, Jáka, Birni-n-Féllelé, B. Kaiwa (on the S. side of the river), B. Tuddú (still in the territory of Zóma), B. Kágalí; B. Gummi (S. W. from the river, with a small territory of its own), Gelénge, B. Gússurá (in the territory of Gummi), B. Adábka, B. Gairi, Girkau (the first town of Kebbi), Zabga, Dánganám, Birni-n-Kebbe (different from Kebbi). Along the N. side of the river,— again beginning with B. Zóma: Takáre, Sabónbirni, B. Mágaji, B. Gazúrra (where ʿAtíku the predecessor of ʿAlíyu made a foray), Búkkuru, B. Solli, B. Fanda, B. Kunda (belonging to the territory of Gummi) B. Falamgúngu (N. of Gairi); from hence Gindí W. at a short distance. It is impossible to lay down the river from these data with accuracy. Probably not all the towns have been given in their natural order. According to other information, between A'nka and Takáre, which lie on the N. bank, there are Birni-n-Tuddú káramí and Bunkádo, and between Takáre and Gazúrra, Dan garúnfa and B. Mázu.

At Birni-n-Zondu, 25 m. from Gindí the máyo-rannéo, or dhannéo (a very general name, also to be recognised in Clapperton's Maiyarro), or fári-n-rúwa, joins the gulbi-n-Sókoto, and is said to be larger than the G. Zóma.

Garúrua-n-Kebbi, rába-n-Khalílu.

Towns of Kebbi belonging to Khalílu, as far as they are inhabited by Hausáwa and Fúlbe (or Féllani).

The chief places besides Argúngu, the residence of the rebel chief, and the centre of the pagan worship with the holy tree (a tamarind-tree) called "tunka," are Gando, Birni-n-Kebbi, Támbawel*, and Jéga†; the following list observes a certain topographical order. The direction (W. S.) refers to Gando.

Madádi, Kóchi, Fágha, Mágaji-n-káda, Kaúri-n-ladán, K. Mammañédi, Mangádi, Géfuru, Margay, Ráfi-n-bauna, Kangíwa, B. Báme, Dodá-n-gússuma, Masáma, Kósgará, B. Bagári, Gumbaye (E. of Gando), Yelóngu, B. Mágu, B. Kóldi (W.), Lígi (W.); Góra-n-Daháwa (S.), Góra-n-Kúttudú, B. Lalle, Gurzaw, Shímferí, B. Másu, Bágidá, Ráfi-n-dorówa (all of them S.); Gerge, Razáy, Chimbílka (between Alíru and Jéga), Gumbi-n-dári (between Alíru and Alélu), Málissa, Dancha (close to it Dógo-n-dáji), Mamangóma (all of them S. between Gondu and Gindí); Kóriyá, Marúda, Kosári, Babanídi (E.), Lokerénga, Rúgga-n-dáwa, Rumbúki, B. Ráwa, Kalambaina sófwa (between Gondu and Támbawel, at present deserted), Kalambaina sábwa; Yóle (W., to the E. of Kámbasa), B. Yámamá (W. of Gondu, close to Kalgo), Kamba garí-n-'Abd e' Salámi, Sambáwa, Bákayá (close to Mádochi on the river Gindí, E.

* Támbawel, formerly the residence of the learned Bokhári, at present that of his son 'Omáro, two days N. from Yúna. Near Támbawel Alíru. Yábo, two days E. of Birni-n-Kebbi, residence of Mohammed Nyello, with the title "Serkí-n-Kebbi."

† *Jéga*, a very important place S.E. from Birni-n-Kebbi, at the same distance as Sókoto from Wurno; going there from Gando, you pass the night in Alíro, whence the distance to Jéga is the same as that from Wurno to Bamúrna. Jéga is the residence of Múslemu, a grandson of 'Abd e' Salám.

of Birni-n-Gindí), Letséda (near Gondu), Sobáki (between Gondu and Argúngu), Ambúrsa (between Argúngu and Zóro), Dútsiel (E. of Gondu), Dálijam (N.), Dináu (N. on the fáddama-n-Argúngu, Ujáriyó (E. of Ambúrsa, between this and Argúngu), B. Kósoró (between Argúngu and Zóro), Zóro or Jéggara (W. of Gondu), Kallíul-ladán (E. of Gulma), Gulma (on the gulbi-n-Kebbi), Kallíul Mamma Yídi, Birni-n-Gatágo, B. Mádara (close to Gulma), Sówa (N. of Gondu), Zazagáwa, Kókosé (on the border of the territory of 'Alíyu and Khalílu, and commanding the ford between Gulma and Argúngu—therefore called "serkí-n-rúa"), A'damangutta (W. of Sówa), B. Bunga, B. Mornánga (where natron is gathered), Súru (E. of Bunza, on the gulbi, with a very white kind of salt); B. Geggi, B. Kúka, Tilli, Zogírma, Gotómo, Aluwása, Félindé, Lígi (two towns of the name), Kámbasa, Ambúrsa, B. Tári, Gúlumbé, B. Lága, Kardi, Zóro, Hammáhi, Dógo-n-dáji, Randáli, Fulmungáni, Kermi, Gíwa-tazó, Maizumma, Kéra, B. Gindí, Kimba, Alélu, Jadádi, Kalgo, Maddochí, Rómo, Dammádi, B. Kaya, Bargá, U'mbutú, Girkau, Zabga (close to the frontier of Zóma); back from Kebbi, Kóla, Júggurú, Díggi, Mutubári, Bangánna, Samáu, Maidehíni, Gáradi, Rába, Sabó-n-birni, Basáura, Matánkarí (all these on the fáddama-n-Kebbi).

Sections of the Féllani-n-Kebbi:

Njábtangkoyen, Jógadánkoyen, Magájiankoyen, Beyínkoyen, Terébbe, Jarángankoyen, Kálinkoyen, Díkankoyen (the first tribe of the Fúlbe who immigrated into Kebbi), Módibankoyen, Gúndarunkoyen, Tárasankoyen, Kámakankoyen (regarded as the most warlike among these tribes), Gúmborunkoyen, Dégelankoyen, Tafárankoyen (from Tafára near Gandi), Tammankoyen, Jennankoyen.

APPENDIX V.

PART I.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF DE'NDINA.

The Eastern part of the province of Déndina, in a political point of view, is now comprised in the province of Kebbi.

Yélu*, the principal place of Déndina, at present the residence of a rebel chief. See what I have said, p. 250.

Gáya†, on the east side of the river, a most important market-place of Déndina.

* Yélu, one day from Zogírma through forest, one day W. from Bunza, south of the former road, and about 8 m. S. of Kallíul, on the dallul Fógha.

From Yélu to Gáya, one day S.W., passing through the following places: — Bamba, a large hamlet, Kahínjanáwa, Fatagásu, Rúwa-n-kangwa Zagónji, Póde-bodéji, a hamlet of Fúlbe, or rather Zargábe; then Birni-n-Gáya.

From Yélu to Yáuri, S.S.E., 8 short days.

Foná, formerly a large town, which gave its name to a whole province.

Kúsará.

Windefáda.

Bessekúttu, a hamlet belonging to the territory of Yáuri.

Shenga.

Sáwasi.

Tóndi.

Birni-n-Yáuri.

† Between Gáya and Kirotáshi, another town higher up the Niger, about 15 m. S. from Say, lie the following places: — Tara,

Kalímmadhí (Kalímmorí).
Tara.
Tánda.
Komba, an important place for crossing the river.
Karimámma.
Sanáfiná, junction of the gulbi-n-Sókoto.
Débe.
Kúsará.
Dáki-n-garí. } three important towns, very flourishing in former times.
Birni-n-Zágha. }
Foná. }
Fingílla.
Kengakoye. { formerly very important.
Kamba.
Túnunga.
B. Kókkobá.
B. Dóle.
Bánamakáfo.
Chúso.
Bákway.
Matánkarí.
Kainíki, with a wonderful tree (an idol?)
B. Sengélu, with salt, close to Súru.
B. Ginga, with salt.
Bákoshi, with salt, which is boiled here.
Déndené, saltwork, baki-n-gulbi, on the bank of the I'sa.
Shábe or Sábe, salt.
Kéji } all along the gulbi-n-Kebbi.
Jakwa }
Tauro }
Bendu }
Birni-n-Lanne.
Girro.
Zondo.
B.-n-Búda.
Jáwaru baki-n-Kwára.
Aljennáre.
B. Kátaru, between Kéji and Foná.
Ungwa Mallem, east of Síko.
Koifa, east of Gíro.
Shíba, east of Bendu on the Kwára.
Baindi, between the Kwára and the fáddama Súru.
B. Zondu, near B. Súru.
Baniméttе.
Lína.
Sólulú baki-n-Fógha.
B. Ríya baki-n-Fógha.
Banágagá, on the Kwára.
Dúde, on the Kwára.
B. Alahínne.
B. Táre, all these on the east side of the Kwára, E. and S.E. of Gáya.

Sanáfiná, and Bángagá. At Kirotáshi, the ráfi-n-Zabérma, which skirts the east side of Támkala, joins the I'sa, or Niger.

B. Donubéni (almost deserted).
B. Kangnuáwel, between Gáya and Dóle.
Nyánsamá, south of Yélu baki-n-Fógha.
Latakírri, between Bunza and Fógha.
Géza, in the wilderness between Bunza and Fingílla.
Tórmushí baki-n-Fógha, south of Débe.
Rúma baki-n-Fógha.
Jókwa.
Séllowé, between Bunza and Zogírma.
B. Góde.
Síri, west of Góde.
Gedé, on a mountain in the fáddama, between Iléde and Zogírma.
B. Tarríkorá, east of Bakway.
Kébia, south of Tarríkorá.
Járiya, north of Kébia.
Bájurú, south of Járiya.
B. I'ssedó, between Bakway and Gíro.
Kóla, baki-n-fáddama.
Toddul, east of Bakway, S.E. of Tarríkorá.
Hóre [Ilóre?], east of Súru, baki-n-fáddama.
Kahebóka, north of Súru.
Ballebómbori, on the Kwára, half-day east of Gáya.
Karjatáme, on the Kwára, S.E. of Ballebómbori.
Dumtínde, once destroyed by the governor of Zóma.
Dodíre, on the Kwára, S.E. of Karjatáme.
Sónkoro, west of Zágha.
B. A'nganá.
B. Wágguru, on an island in the river.
B. Niyaila, on the river.
B. Zagháy, on the river.
Búla, S.E. of Zagháy.
Ubínga.
B. Yógumu, on an island as large as Egga, and accessible by a ford in summer.

Gullingáre, S.E. of Yógumu.
Dabbéje.
B. Mongóttere, on an island.
B. Sóka, between Jókwa and Tóro on the river.
B. Kormíssa, between Ráha and Bunza.
Sómbila.
Kullwa, an island, many Fúlbe.
B. Gabáilo, on the river.
B. Tutúbará, on the river S.W. of Dódime.
Kojángu.
Chíwa, in the fáddama west of Tutúbará.
Júngul, in the fáddama.
B. Gerkwa, on the Kwára, S.E. of Dáki-n-garí, once the residence of a king of Kebbi, who fled before the king of Zánfara.
B. Kamagéme, south of Zágha.
B. Júgudí, north of Foná.
B. Dánia, on the river between Ráha and Nyanga.
B. Nánia, on the fáddama, a rocky eminence with plenty of deléb-palms.
B. Kíria, on the ford where the river is crossed to I'ló (baki-n-maikétare-n I'ló).
B. Modibóji, on the river.
Kúllwa, in the Kwára, birádam gungu. Gungu-n-Gáya (Akétekú), island of Gáya.
B. Dorówa, between Gáya and Tara, nearer to the former, on the river.
B. Baléa, on the Kwára, a small and populous town.
B. Buldi, between Gáya and Kengakoye.
B. Máddochí or Káhi, south of Túnunga, on the Kwára.
B. Káttika, south of Síko, on a branch of the Kwára, with plenty of river horses.
B. Yáay on the Kwára, Féllani-n-Jogadáwa.
B. Béli, at a short distance north of Yógumu.
B. Kárufa, also called Jamde and Munday, on the fáddama of the Kwára.

B. Bokki-bodéhi (bokki meams baobabs), east of Bákway, many Féllani.
B. Rufáni, close on the west side of Súru.
B. Gójia, called B. Biríji by the Fúlbe, on the west side of the river of Bunza.
B. Fónia, on the same water.
B. Kusége, west of Bákoshi, between it and Matánkarí, south of Bunza.
Dembul, between Jinga and Bunza, west of Kermíssa.
Shéma, south of Bunza.
B. I'ssafay, south of Bunza, with much agriculture.
B. Bókkiré, south of Bunza.
B. Dúkkishi on a ráfi, between Géza and Fingílla.
B. Kúkadó, at a short distance east of Débe.
B. Karíya, east of Kúkadó, south of Zogírma.
B. O'wa, on an eminence overhanging a water with crocodiles, east of Karíya.
B. Belaide, south of O'wa.
B. Bamba, south of Yélu.
Kahínjanáwa, south of Bamba, east of Débe.
Búnu, east of Kahínjanáwa.
Wauna, between Débe and Gáya.
Dówa, west of Gíro.
Babá-abú, between Bendu and Gíro.
Barkéhi or Kalgo, between Tóro and Gíro, on a ford of the river.
Bilámo, south of Jókwa, between it and Gíro.
Yánderúdwel, formerly a hamlet, now a town in the fáddama.
Bólopássi, south of the former, and between it and Gíro.
Goljilláhi, on the Kwára.

Towns inhabited, or colonies founded, by Dendi or Songhay on the west side of the river, in the country of Barba or Burgu.

I'ló, beyond the I'sa, one day from Búsa.
Garú.
Loló.
Birni-n-Sámiya, a Songhay colony, one day S.W. of I'ló, on the Góru, a shallow branch joining the Kwára.
Takku, one day south from Sámiya; the inhabitants have vindicated their independence against the Fúlbe.
Shéguná, at no great distance W.N.W. from Takku.
Derénna, S.W. of Shéguná.
Ifínna, south of Derénna.
Súgu, residence of an independent governor.
Udíllo.
Garí-n-Danga, Lord of Géndané.
B. Girris.
Yántalá.
B. Táru.
B. Gésseró.
Láffagá, west of Beréwuay.
B. Búttulé, east of I'ló.
B. Fúttufúttu, west of Búttulé.
B. Kóchi, west of Fúttufúttu, inhabited by people called Koi-jebába, subjects of the governor of Gáya.
B. Genne, on the Kwára, rich in dorówa trees.
B. Búri, on the Kwára, east of Genne.
B. Bailil, on a rocky eminence on the Kwára.
B. Béfoye, west of Tanda, south of the Kwára.
B. Somsum, south of the Kwára, which separates it from Gáya.
B. Fárma.

I here add the itinerary of the track from Sókoto to Komba on the Niger, which was the common route of travellers a few years ago, and which will show the situation of several places mentioned in this and a former Appendix.

1st day. Tózo, open place, having passed the gulbi-n-Sókoto.
2nd. Katámmi, territory of Khalílu.
3rd. Aúgi, walled place, skirted on the west side by a watercourse navigable in the rainy season.
4th. Kánará, in the same valley.
5th. Gulma, at the foot of a large mountain, skirted on the east side by a fáddama.
6th. Sáwa, rich in corn.
7th. Kaikayágí, a village skirted on the south side by a fáddama.
8th. Kúka, birni, with a fáddama on the south side.
9th. Dáji (wilderness; no town).
10th. Débé, birni.
11th. Yélu, birni, in the valley of Fógha, where salt is found.
12th. Tunga, a hamlet on a fáddama, with plenty of rice and fish.
13th. Sánehína, on a fáddama or backwater of the Kwára.
14th. Komba, on the other side of the Kwára, which you here cross. The latter places, beginning with Débé, inhabited by Songhay or Jermábe.

PART II.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE PROVINCE OF YA'URI, AND ON THOSE OF MA'URI AND ZABE'RMA.

Mohammed, the elder brother and predecessor of Khalílu, granted imána to Dan-Ay, a Nyffáwi by birth, who ruled Yáuri for thirty years, and was succeeded by Mafóri, who governs Yáuri at the present time.

The annual tribute which Yáuri pays to Gandó consists of 500 shirts, and from thirty to fifty slaves; while that of Núpe consists of 1000 shirts and 300 slaves.

I will here add a few remarks with regard to Núpe or Nyffi. The northern frontier of Núpe or Nyffi is Fáshi; the eastern border towards Gwári is Liffe; the southern one, Kóro, towards Yúguchi and Búnu. The large town Charágí, inhabited half by Yorubáwa, half by Nyffáwa, is two days from Rába by way of Karákará. It is the Yorubáwa who call the Núpe people, Tápa. The Nyffáwa themselves call the Háusáwa, Kenchi, and the Fúlbe, Goy. The Háusáwa call the Nyffáwa, as well as some other related tribes, Baibay. The rivulet or fáddama called Kontagóra separates the territory of the Abéwa or Ebbáwa from that of Núpe, while on the other side it borders upon Yáuri. On the Kontagóra is the large town Kúra, belonging to the Kámbari. The Abéwa live especially on the Manjára, are said to have an idiom of their own, and are armed exclusively with arrows. The people of Núpe Proper are exclusively cavalry.

Principal towns and villages in the province of Yáuri, beginning from Bessekúttu: — Shenga, Kákaté, Dukku, B. Yáuri, Gangwo, Sáwasi, Tondi, Funtu-n-dúchi, Fombo, Sombo, A'rgidá, Shóbbonó, Rábakó, Bágedé, Mofóngi, Lúchi, Móchipá, Ngáski, A'gurá, O'baká (large place), Berway, Kwéne, Zente, Mojínga, all near to B. Yáuri; Móflló

(domain of the heir apparent or "dan serkí," half a day E. from Yáuri), Wára (a place of embarcation, "báki-n-makétare," on the Kwára), Jatáwu, Kawóje, between Yáuri and a place called Dandi Féllani; Bokki-júrurú, Lanne, Sonwuay, Dúchi- or Dútsi-n-Mári. Now follow the islands, or "gúngu," in the river, all of which are inhabited by Kámbari: Shí-shiya, Rópiya, Gabáilo. The principal towns of the independent Kámbari are: Rejó, Béto, Fantandáchi, A'chira, Shébbenó, Rába-n-Kámbari, Ubakka.

I here add the seats of three particular tribes settled in the neighbourhood of Yáuri: the Bangi, between Yáuri and Kotórkoshe; the Shengáwa in Jakwa, between Yáuri and Haúsa; and the Dekérkeri settled in Tabé, Zúru, Bangen-jatáwa, and in Kagaye.

From Bunza to Yáuri.

(*a.*) *Western road.*

1st day. Tsáru.
2nd. A'llelú, on a river of the same name.
3rd. Dáji, perhaps the word meaning wilderness; no town.
4th. Gangu (gúngu, "the island" [on the Kwára?]).
5th. Yáuri.

(*b.*) *Eastern road.*

1st day. Bussukúttu, according to this information, a village of Kebbi; but generally regarded as belonging to the territory of Yáuri.
2nd. Kúsará, lying on the other side of a rivulet called Gulbi-n-Chúso; here you sleep, when the river is full of water, the crossing of it occupying a long time; else proceed, and halt in Zángo-n-dúmmia.
3rd. Gangwo.
4th. Yáuri.

I here give, as I have no other place, a short itinerary from Yáuri to Kotú-n-kúra, or rather Kotá-n-koró.

1st day. Rágadá, belonging to the territory of Yáuri.

2nd. A hamlet of the Kámbari.

3rd. Kotá-n-koró, a place larger than Zínder, under the dominion of Kátsena, with a daily market.

ZABE'RMA.

The province of Zabérma, or Zérma (Jérma) is bordered towards the south-west by the Niger: towards the south by the province of Déndina and the district of Támkala; and towards the south-east by the province of Máuri. Its northern, or rather north-western, border cannot be well defined with the insufficient knowledge which we possess of that quarter; although thus much is clear, that the district of I'mmanan, which lies between the former and Kidal, the province of the Debbákal, or the Benú Sékki, is to be sought for in that neighbourhood. It is inhabited by a race of Songhay and Tawárek, but, apparently, of a degraded and mixed character, who give to the country, or at least to the eastern portion of the province, the name Chéggazar, which however seems to attach to one locality in particular; the people of this tract appear to have a chief of their own named Hatta. The country, with the exception of one or two open places, appears scarcely to have any centres of a settled population; and the chief interest attaching to it seems to be the broad valley, rich in natron, which intersects the province. (See Itineraries in the note.*) The trees most

* 1.—*Itinerary from Aúgi, along a winding track, by way of Máuri and Zabérma, to Támkala.*

1st day. Kókoshé.

2nd. Dámbugél, belonging to the territory of Máuri or A'rewá.

3rd. Dammána.

4th. Karákará, at the western frontier of A'rewá.

5th. Fergéza, village of elephant-hunters, the first place (mafári) of Zabérma.

6th. Tembekíre.

7th. Dóso, open capital of Zabérma; residence of Dáúd, son of Hammam Bákara, during the period of my journey independent. Beside him, there seems to be another

common in the province are the góreba or dúm-palm, the ákkora, and the g'áó, and the valley is said to be girt by fine tamarind trees. This province is also famous on account of its rich pasture-grounds, and is for this reason frequented also by a good many sections of the Fúlbe or Féllani, during some months of the year, if the state of the land is favourable, even the cattle of the Féllani-n-Kátsena pasturing in that country.

I here give a list of the sections of the Fúlbe or Féllani who usually pasture here.

Féllani-n-Zabérma:

Jelgóbe, Démbubé, Kurmé, Señínankoye, Módibankoye, Wárbe, Fíttuga, Nibángankoyen, Kúlasankoyen, Jáborin-

chief in Zabérma, named Hammam Jymma. From here direction S. or S. E.

8th. Yéni, on the eastern side of the broad dallul Bóso, or Bosso, which comes from Kúrfay, and rejoins the Kwára at Kirotáshi; it is full of natron, but along the border of the valley there are wells of fresh water one fathom in depth.

9th. Támkala.

2.—*Indication of Route from Yéni to Kúrfay, in very long marches in a N. W. direction along the natron valley.*

1st station. Téghazar, or Chéggazar, on the west side of the dallul, at several miles' distance, and evidently E. or N. E. from Dóso. The data furnished by Mohammed el Másini are of the utmost importance, and fully confirmed. Jérma (Zabérma) *on the right*, probably S.E., of Téghazar, and extending down to the very border of the river Kwára: Téghazar, on the contrary, *three* days' from the river, through a barren desert full of wild beasts, and the deep stream running at half a day's distance.

2nd station. I'mmanan, likewise on the western or rather north-western side of the dallul.

3rd station. Kurfay.

koyen, Chenbánganko yen, Dárëankoyen, Fármaké *, Báliyankoyen, Túkankoyen, Kúdurankoyen, Gargánga.

The Féllani-n-Háusa call all those countrymen of theirs who are scattered over these western districts by the nickname Menénnata Háusáre (properly, "I do not understand Háusa"); proving by such a name, which is an opprobrium to themselves, their own loss of nationality, and that they, although Fúlbe, usually address their own people more in Háusa than in their own idiom, the Fulfúlde language.

List of Places in MA'URI or A'REWA'.

Zormakoye (residence of a special governor), Lokoye (the capital of the province in former times), Gíwaye, Dámana or Dammána, Tiwellíje (Séberi), Gómbora, Birni-n-Máuri, Bébe (with caverns), Gálewa, Degéji, Sákari, Bákin-dútsi †, Lóga.

* Whether the name of this tribe has any connection with the name of the province Fermágha to the W. of Timbúktu, I cannot say. Mr. Cooley suggests to me that it may have some relation to the Mandingo.

† It is very remarkable, that while this town is mentioned in that excellent little geographical treatise of Mohammed Ben A'hmed Másini, appended to Captain Clapperton's Second Travels, p. 332, as belonging to the country or district of Emanoo, none of the other towns of Máuri which I have enumerated are there named, with the exception of Lokoye (Lu-koo-yow), but in their stead four others of which I heard nothing. But those places which then were the most considerable may have been since either greatly reduced, or even destroyed. There can be no doubt that Mohammed's Emanoo is the district I'mmanan, mentioned by me as lying between Téghazar and Máuri.

APPENDIX VI.

INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO THE PROVINCES OF GURMA, MO'SI, AND TOMBO.

The whole triangle interposed between the Niger towards the north, and the country of the Eastern Mandingoes or Wángaráwa towards the south, appears to be inhabited by a single race of people, whose language, although they are divided into several different states and nations, nevertheless appears originally to have been of the same stock. It is very probable, that this race in ancient times occupied the whole upper course of the Niger, and that this tract may have been wrested from them in later times by the Songhay, and the Mandingoes, especially that section of the latter which is generally called Bámbara. These are the Gurma towards the N. E., the Tombo towards the N. W., and between them the Mósi, or, as they appear to call themselves, Móre. Gurma, also, does not appear to be the indigenous name by which those people designate themselves, but is, I think, of Songhay origin. The Gurma, on account of the neighbourhood of the centres of the Songhay empire, appear to have lost almost their whole independence and nationality, the Songhay conquering from them great part of their territory, and wasting the remainder by continuous predatory expeditions; but the former seem to have recovered part of their strength since the weakening of the power of the Fúlbe in these quarters, who followed upon the heels of the Songhay, and who appear to have formed settlements all along the great high road from Másina to Háusa, having established themselves firmly in the latter province from very remote times. The strongest among these pagan kingdoms five centuries ago, and even at the present moment,

is that of the Mósi, although the country is split into a number of small principalities, almost totally independent of each other, and paying only some slight homage to the ruler of the principality of Wóghodogó. The Mósi are called Morba (perhaps originally Móre-bá; bá being, as Mr. Cooley informs me, a formative of personal nouns in the Mandingo language) by the Bámbara; they themselves give peculiar names to the tribes around them, calling the Fúlbe, Chilmígo; the Songhay, Marénga; the Gurma, Bimba; the Wángara, Tauréarga; the Háusa people, Zángoró; the Asanti or Asianti, Santi. The inhabitants of Gurma call the Háusáwa, Jongoy; but the name of the Fúlbe they have changed only very slightly, calling them Fuljo in the singular, Fulga in the plural form. The Bámbara give to the A'swánek or Swanínki the name Marka. With regard to the line of Mandingo or Wángara settlements, which extend through the whole breadth of this tract along about the tenth meridian of north latitude, I shall say more further on. I will here only remark that Mr. Cooley ("Negroland of the Arabs," p. 79) seems to have been right in his supposition respecting the original settlements of that eminent African race.

Besides the nationalities mentioned, there are in the tract described several smaller tribes, the degree of whose affinity it is not so easy to determine, especially as the names are more or less corrupted by the traders: Tuksáwa, Gurúnga, Basánga, well known also from other sources, with the chief places Lárabu and Tangay, the Susámga, Samgay, Kántantí, Kárkardí, Chókoshí, whose chief place situated on an eminence seems to be Gambága, formerly supposed to be the name of a country; Choksáwa is probably only the Háusa form of Chókoshí.

The Tombo* seem to have been very powerful in former times, extending probably to the very banks of the Niger at Timbúktu, and became known to the Portuguese from the

* The Tombo call the Songhay "Jennawélam."

end of the fifteenth century; but having still, in the latter half of the last century, constituted an important political power, they seem since to have suffered very severely by the continual attacks of the Fúlbe, who have invaded their territory from two different quarters at the same time, from Másina towards the N. W., and from Gilgóji towards the N. E., the latter province being entirely wrested from them, so that they have lost all national independence, although they still retain a large territory of about 150 miles in every direction. I will here at once proceed to communicate the little information which I have been able to collect with regard to them, in order then to subjoin a network of routes which will constitute a fair framework whereupon to lay down in an approximate manner the topography of Gurma and Mósi.

The country of the Tombo at present extends from the province of Gilgóji in the N. E., the greater part of the inhabitants of which belong to the same race, and Dwentsa in the N., and from near Konna towards the N. W., to the territory of Benendúgu, or country of the Beni, in the S., and to that of Yádega in the S. E. From the latter they seem to be separated by the territory of the Urbá and Tinógel, who, however, evidently belong to the same stock. The eastern and western portion of the region thus included is mountainous, the central part more level, and clothed with a rich vegetation of tamarind and other trees. The chief place of the whole territory is said to be A'rre, situated fifteen days from Gilgóji, and fifteen from Dámmajé, a place on the road to Wóghodogó, nine days from Sofára; and the next in importance are said to be the following towns or villages:—Nínge, one day south from Dwentsa, Bambar, Kája, Nayámma, Hónduk, Dímbilí, Kong, Shóle, A'mmalá, Kómmogam, Shógo, Kaulu, Yelme, Kul, Tiyaugu, Shanger, Wódibú, (apparently inhabited, at least partly, by Mandingoes), Kána, Andúl, Gímle, I'nde, Káwar, Fanjékkara, Kommaige, Tamtóngo, Mówe, Tímmin, Ulúl. All these places or towns are said be of considerable extent, and to have each its own chief.

I now proceed to give the itineraries illustrating the geography of Gurma and Mósi. But I must first say a word about Mr. Duncan's route from Abóme to Ada-fudia*, or, as he writes, Adda-foodia, which will be found to coincide partly with the region here described by myself. This route of Mr. Duncan will be found in course of time to contain a few gross mistakes, to say the least. It is quite impossible for an African traveller to go over such distances in so short a time as Mr. Duncan did, who one day counts his journey at not less than forty-four miles.† It is not clear from his journal whether the population of the places visited by him be Mandingo or Fulfúlde; although it appears to be evident from certain hints which he throws out, that he supposes it to consist of these two elements‡, but in reality the more northern part of the route travelled over by him is entirely inhabited by native tribes. Supposing the population of the country thus traversed consisted of Felláta or Fúlbe, it seems very unlikely that these people, who are so suspicious, should allow a traveller to hurry on at this rate, without any stoppages. Moreover, I doubt very much whether in any of the countries hereabout dromedaries and elephants will be found tamed, such as Duncan found in Sogbo; and whether the sugar-cane and the oil-palm grow there. I have not been

* Duncan's Travels.

† Vol. ii. p. 82. From Baffo to Zafoora. "I had travelled forty-four miles (in one day), almost without halting." A still greater rate of travelling occurs p. 145.

‡ Duncan says (vol. ii. p. 96) that the Niger appears to be known here only by the name Joleeba, not Joliba. Whatever the form, that name is Mandingo: nevertheless, he states the population expressly to belong to the Felláta (or Fúlbe). The latter, from what he says (pp. 109 and 126), seem to hold the dominion of the country; but none of the names which he gives belong to that language. Then the customs do not agree at all with such a state of society, neither the péto (pp. 101, 116, 119), nor the prostration (pp. 104, 111, 151, 155, 160, 173).

able to connect any of the towns between Assafúda and Adáfudía, as laid down by Duncan, with my itineraries, nay, I have not been able to learn the names, or become aware of the existence, of any such places; but this I leave to future travellers, who may have the fortune to visit that quarter.

I now give first an itinerary from Komba on the Niger to Sansánne Mangho, in order to circumscribe the country of Gurma on its south-eastern side, and thence to Selga, the great entrepôt of the gúro-trade.

A. — *Route from Komba to Sansánne Mangho.*

1st day. Korkojángo garí-n-ʿAbdu Féllani, a Púllo settlement.

2nd. No village.

3rd. Mákuru, on a watercourse without a current, numbers of wild beasts.

4th. Dágu, a village, belonging to Gurma, and skirted by a fáddama on its west side.

5th. Sófo-n-Dágu "Old Dágu," at present uninhabited.

6th. Bizúggu or Bisúgu, large place, residence of chief Yanjo. Between Dágu and Bizúggu, one day perhaps is left out; at least, other travellers make three stations between these two towns, the first in Súdo-melle, the next in Zokóga a Gurma village, the third in Mekkéra, another Gurma village.

7th. Tanga, a hamlet, bordered towards the south by a mountain, and skirted on the east side by a watercourse running from W. to E.

8th. Majóri, a hamlet, on the north side of a large mountain.

I here add another direct road from Komba to Majóri without passing by Bizúggu:

1st day. Korkojángo.

2nd. Féllalé, a mountain, and therefore called Féllalé-

n-dútsi (dútsi meaning mountain in Háusa), with a watercourse.

3rd. Small watercourse, with water occasionally.

4th. Dágu, a village of Gurma.

5th. Súdo-melle, a large market-place of Gurma, probably a settlement of the Wángara, who are always called by the natives of this district Wángara-Melle; "súdo" means dwelling, in Fulfúlde.

6th. A village belonging to Barba or Búrgu.

7th. A village of idolaters, in a mountainous district.

8th. Sabálg*a*, a pagan village, still under Gurma. Bizúggu, one day west from here.

9th. Sabálg*u*, a small village, the whole country mountainous.

10th. A small watercourse.

11th. Majóri now deserted.

9th. Halt in the wilderness "on the bank of a river" (baki-n-gulbi), which is crossed on skins.

10th. Barbar, a hamlet.

11th. Famma; a mountain towards the east.

12th. Halt "on the bank of a river" (baki-n-gulbi) in the wilderness.

13th. Fálalé or Féllalé, a large village, inhabited by native Gurma, naked and only protecting their hind quarters with a wisp. Mountainous. "Fálalé," as I have said, means mountain or rock.

14th. Belgu, called by the Háusa-traders "maigigíña," on account of its being so rich in deléb-palms. Situated on the bank of a river in a mountainous district.

15th. Sansánne Mangho or Mango ("the camp of Mohammed"), an old settlement of the Mandingoes or Wángaráwa, who seem to have been settled in this quar-

ter from ancient times, engaged in the gold trade between Kong and Kúkia (the old capital of Songhay), which received its gold from hence. Even now a peculiar weight of mithkál (see Vol. V. p. 23) is still used here. The number of inhabitants about 3000. The name of the present governor is Kancho. From hence a track leads to Wóghodogó.

16th. Halt on the border of a river, having crossed another river in the course of the day.

17th. A well inhabited (probably Mandingo or Wángara) place called by the Háusa traders "garí-n-maíbéndega," on account of the people being all armed with muskets. Territory of governor Mangha.

18th. Sakoiga, territory of Yendi.

19th. Yendi, an important place, but not near so large as was believed formerly, from the account given by the travellers to Asianti, it appearing in reality to have a population of about 5000. They are idolaters, and drink búza or péto in great quantity. The name of the governor is Kirgángu, before whose house two baskets of meat are daily given to the vultures, to whom a sort of worship seems to be paid.

20th. Sambo, a village situated on the other side of the river.

21st. Kóbier or Kóbia.

22nd. A halt on the bank of a river, no village.

23rd. Sungúngu.

24th. Túru, a village.

25th. Yánsalá.

26th. Salga, or Selga, capital of the province of Gonja, residence of a governor; population about 1000 inhabitants, the market of the gúro trade, and destitute of water, which is brought from a rivulet at some distance called "gulbi-n-baráwu," on account of its being occasionally infested by robbers.

I will now give at once the route from this place, which is connected with Kumássi the capital of Asianti by a tolerably ascertained route, to Tañéra or Tangréra, an important point approximatively laid down according to Caillié's route.

B. — *Route from Selga to Tañéra by way of Kong, very short marches.*

1st day. Súgunkollo, a small town belonging to the province of Gonja, but ruled by a governor of its own.

2nd. Kónkorosú, a place in a district rich in gúro trees.

3rd. A rivulet called by the Háusa traders "kúrremi-n-fítta," on account of its banks being richly clad with the tree which supplies the leaves called "fítta," wherein the gúro is packed up in the little baskets called "wágha."

4th. Halt in the wilderness, traversed by a rivulet, and frequented by elephants.

5th. A rivulet containing gold particles in its sand, and therefore called "gulbi-n-zinária." Territory of Gonja.

6th. Bitúgu, a large town, residence of a governor of the name Adángara, who acknowledges the supremacy of Asianti.

13th. Another river with gold, called therefore "gulbi-n-zinária."

26th. Kong, a large town, the houses consisting entirely of clay dwellings. The inhabitants, Mandingoes or Wángara, and most of them Mohammedans. Also Fullán or Fúlbe are found there. They have a good deal of weaving, and their cotton is very celebrated, especially the kind called "el harrotáfe" in Timbúktu, with alternating stripes in red and black.

27th. Náfaná, a village.

28th. Halt in the fields of Náfaná.

29th. A village belonging to the territory of Tágonó, which

stretches southward to the neighbourhood of a considerable place called A'rna.

30th. A large place, likewise in Tágonó.

31st. Halt on the bank of a rivulet running from N. to S., navigable during the rainy season, and then animated by river horses, but without water in the dry season.

32nd. Kému, a large town of the territory of Tágonó, with a considerable mountain towards the south, and many small watercourses.

33rd. Another village of Tágonó.

34th. Village belonging to the territory of Fúluná.

35th. Another village of the same.

36th. A village of the territory Kurdúgu. All these different territories are inhabited by Mandingoes or Wángara.

39th. Kanyénni, a large town situated on a kúrremi or a small watercourse and an important market-place, the most important one of this whole tract with the exception of Furá. The inhabitants Wángaráwa, moslemín, and idolaters.

40th. Ségganá, on a watercourse, as it seems, the same as that of Kanyénni.

50th. Ganóni, an important market-place of the Fúluná.

59th. Tañéra, another place of the Fúluná larger than Ganóni, and built of clay. This is evidently Caillié's Tangréra (i. p. 385, *et seq.*). In going from Tañéra to Yámina, or Nyámina, a journey of twenty-nine short marches, the traveller reaches on the fourth day a large river (probably the Bagoë of Caillié), on the other side of which the territory of Yámina commences.

C.—*From Kirotáshi, a town on the east side of the Niger, one day south of Say, to Wóghodoghó.*

1st day. Halt on the west side of the Kwára or I'sa.

2nd. Bóti, residence of a chief of Gurma.

3rd. Wilderness.

4th. Wilderness.

5th. San-katatúgu.

7th. Bizúggu, called by the Háusa traders "Fáda-n-Gurma," "palace of Gurma," and residence of a chief called by them Tobáni-n-kífi.

8th. Yenga, the frontier town of Mósi in this direction.

9th. Bennanába (or rather Be-nába) or Nungu, called Nomma by the Fúlbe, Fáda-n-Gurma by the Háusa people, the residence of Bojjo the supreme chief of Gurma: the name of his predecessor, it seems, was Chenchírma or Yengírma. The distance from Bizúggu to the latter place seems rather long for two common marches, although it certainly does not exceed sixty miles; other people make four halts, the first in Landó; the second in Burgu; the third in Kankancháli, a large town; and the fourth, in a place called by the traders "Garí-n-Magájia."

I here subjoin a route leading from Champagóre to Landó or Lendó, a place which is of considerable importance on account of its being the residence of the warlike chief Wintélle, whose princely title is Fan-du. From Champagóre: —Mayánga a hamlet inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe; Champelga, already belonging to the territory of Lendó; Lendó.

10th. Tánkurgú.

13th. Kulféla, a well-frequented market-place of Mósi, and of greater importance than all the other towns of Mósi; the governor's name is Nábere Gáger. The inhabitants are celebrated archers. Another informant going from Kulféla to Tánkurgú makes three stations, the first in Ligílde Málgumá, a large town, the second in Lúlugú, and the third in a village called Kógo.

15th. Wóghodoghó.

N. B. — If this were a tolerably direct road it would have a great influence upon the position of the various places mentioned; but it would seem that my informant turned away from his direct track in order to visit the market-place Kulféla. Other people, in going slowly from Kulféla to Wóghodoghó, spend eight days on the road, sleeping the first night in Páshipánga, the second in Tángay, the third in Zorógo, the next in a place ruled by a man called Máne Bogónje, the fifth in another village called Tángay, and reach Wóghodoghó on the eighth. I shall here join Tánkurgú with Sansánne Mangho by an itinerary, which, however, does not lay claim to completeness.

1st day. Benda, belonging to the territory of Busánga.
2nd. Samga, a large town.
3rd. Kántantí, residence of a chief of its own.
4th. Yanga.
5th. Sansánne Mangho.

D.—*From Yágha to Belánga* (*long marches*).

1st day. Kábo, a village of Yágha.
2nd. Selúngu, a Gurma village belonging to the territory of Belánga.
3rd. Jafánge, a large Gurma place (long march).
4th. On the bank of the river Shirba in the wilderness.
5th. Beláng or Belánga, residence of one of the Gurma chiefs, styled Bélem-béttu (béttu means chief, king, in the Gurma language), who at present is one of the most powerful rulers of that country; his territory extending about four days' good march in every direction,—the more important places being Yamba, Sírbalé, Jepángalé, Basérilú, Balga, Tubga, Déngo, Tampódo, Mokka, Yopónga, Japángo, Béla.

From Belánga to Nungu or Be-nába there are four very short days, passing by Yamba, a large place, Yébel-yébel, and Tubga.

E.—*From Jíbo, capital of the province of Gilgóji or Jilgódi (about 60 miles S. from Mundóro, 55 W. S. W. from A'ribínda, and 35 S. S. W. from Tínge), by way of Kaye, to Máni and Wóghodoghó (very short marches).*

1st day. Káje.
2nd. Sebbe.
3rd. Gánkomá (not Gaikomá).
4th. Tóngomelle or Tóngomaye, a market-place of some importance, which may be reached on horseback in one day from Jíbo.
5th. Nyange.
6th. Kóbay.
7th. Surgúsumá, the last place of the territory of Gilgóji.
8th. Kélbo, the first village of the territory of Mósi. The border-district in general is regarded as very unsafe.
9th. Déffia.
10th. Sokkopéndu.
11th. Kondu-bétto (probably not the name of the place, but that of the chief; this is perhaps the place Kondu or Kamgo, which is said to have resisted successfully an expedition of Sheikho A'hmedu).
12th. Sába.
13th. Mákkeri.
14th. Kaye, an important place, where several roads meet.

From Kaye to Wóghodoghó.

1st day. Jetínga.
2nd. Nessemetínga.
3rd. Lúda.
4th. Máku.
5th. Bússumo (or as it is called by the traders "Fádan Bússumo"), an important place, residence of a powerful chief, probably the most powerful of the

Mósi chiefs at the present time, especially with regard to cavalry.

6th. Kurzumógo, residence of a governor ("yeríma") under Bússumo.

7th. Máni, another residence of a powerful chief who, however, in a certain degree seems to acknowledge the supremacy of Bússumo.

8th. Yáko, a considerable place.

10th. Wóghodogó.

F.—*From Máni— Yádega.*

1st day. Yáko.

2nd. Kurzomógo, not identical, as it appears, with the synonymous place mentioned in the previous itinerary; residence of a governor under Yádega.

3rd. Jegá, a considerable place, with huts of reed.

4th. Zámche.

5th. Damméko.

6th. Píssela.

7th. Yerímchí (probably only a name given to the place by the traders as being the residence of a yeríma or governor).

8th. Yádega.

G 1.—*From Máni to Kong and back by a more easterly road.*

1st day. Temma.

2nd. Yáko.

3rd. Lá.

4th. Sarma.

5th. Bófori.

6th. Sáfané.

7th. Langaféra.

8th. Ditóri.

9th. Téberé.

10th. Kong, a large place, according to informant, inhabited

by Bámbara. It can scarcely be identical with the well-known town Kong, if the itinerary be correct; but nevertheless it may be the case.

G 2.—*Return from Kong.*

1st day. Furá, a large market-place.
2nd. Dálo.
3rd. Kebéne.
4th. Dúllugu.
5th. Dakay, a place belonging to the territory of Mósi.
6th. Kamshégo.
7th. Neténga.
8th. Lúmbilé.
9th. Jéngaré.
10th. Tenga.
11th. Yáma.
12th. I'migu.
13th. Máni.

H.—*From Kaye to Belússa, and thence to Belánga.*

1st day. Dimla, a large town of Mósi, with a warlike population, therefore called "maimáshi" (mistress of spears) by the traders.
2nd. Ponsa, also a considerable place.
3rd. Píssela.
4th. Belússa, a large town, seat of an independent Gurma chief who possesses numerous cavalry.

From Belússa a person on horseback reaches Belánga comfortably the second day, the great station between these two towns being Alitínga, still belonging to Mósi, and an important place, inhabited by Mósi and Háusa traders; but common native travellers generally halt twice between Belússa and Alitínga, in Nyennyéga and Kobúri, and once between Alitínga and Belánga in a Gurma village called

Yamba. Belússa seems to be situated from Belánga not true W., as I have placed it in the map which I sent home, but a little more to the N.

Between Belússa and Kulféla lie the following places: — Jíga, Zámche, Sálugu (still belonging to the territory of Belússa), Kumshégu, Sóre (a market-place), Wunógo, Yirnába (residence of a Mandingo or Wángara chief, whom the traders call Yergáwa), then a village belonging to a Púllo resident in Kulféla ("ungwa serkí-n-Féllani-n-Kulféla"); Futínga, Nakálba, Ligíddemél-demá, and Kulféla.

I.—*From Pissela to Dóre in Libtáko* (*very short marches*).

1st day. Nagabíngo.
2nd. Ponsa, a large place, the same as that mentioned in the preceding itinerary.
3rd. Gungay.
4th. Nantínga.
5th. Lógu.
6th. Sambánga.
7th. Nákorí.
8th. Kéum.
9th. Belga.
10th. Néba.
11th. Kwála.
12th. Tambo.
13th. Marárraba, belonging to Libtáko, and inhabited by Fúlbe. Marárraba means "half-way" in the Háusa language; and it would be important to know what the names of the two places are between which this village is considered as lying half way.
14th. Kála, also inhabited by Fúlbe.
15th. Débbero-ónkoy, Fúlbe.
16th. Láraba.
17th. Dóre.

K.—*Route from Ségo on the Niger to Méggará in Mienka or Menka.*

1st. day. Fenya, having crossed a considerable river called Bábelé Sirsénkené.
2nd. Fáraní, a place inhabited by Dhiúli, Júli, or Mandingoes.
3rd. Fínyaná (ditto).
4th. Kaya, inhabited by Júli and Bámbara.
5th. Gondígasó.
6th. Sinsúnkoró, Bámbara.
7th. Enjénené.
8th. Furá, a village inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe.
9th. Konobúgu, Bámbara.
10th. Sanánkoró, Bámbara.
11th. Kónina, Bámbara.
12th. Segebúgu.
13th. Yensa, in the territory of the Fóngfoná.
14th. Yessímaná.
15th. Jinna or Jinniná, in the territory of Menka.
16th. Jitámaná, residence of the chief of Menka.
17th. Méggará. Here the territory of Bóbó begins. Tenyéra from here ten days S. S. W., and Kong about twenty-three, by way of Fó and Natkhe, S. E.

APPENDIX VII.

PEDIGREE OF THE SHEIKH SI'DI A'HMED EL BAKA'Y.

Sídi 'Ukbå, son of 'Omár with the surname El Mústajáb, the great conqueror of Barbary.
Sakéra.
Yadrúba.
Sáíd.
'Abd el Kerím.
Mohammed.
Yakhsha.
Domán.
Yahia.
'Alí.
Sídi A'hmed, or Mohammed, el Kuntí, born of a Limtúna mother called Yágedásh. He is said to have died in Fask, a district W. of Shingít.
Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy, died in Waláta.
Sídi 'Omár e' Sheikh, is said to have changed the cruel custom, prevailing in the family before him, of murdering all the (male) children except one,—and to have left all his three sons alive. For this reason it is that his name occupies a prominent position in El Bakáy's poem. He was a great friend of 'Abd el Kerím ben Mohammed el Maghíli, and is said to have visited, in his company, the learned Sheikh e' Soyúti in Egypt. He is said to have died A.H. 960 (A.D. 1553), in the district of Gídi or I'gídi, E. of the Sákiet el hamra.
Sídi el Wáfi, although Sídi 'Omár's second son, succeeded

his father as Welí, while the Sheikhdom rested with his elder brother Sídi Mukhtár, who died in the sanctuary or chapel called Zawyet Kunta, situated in the neighbourhood of Bú-'Alí, the ksar or village of Tawát where the family of El Maghíli resided. El Wáfi's younger brother was Sídi A'hmed e' Regá.

Sídi Haiballa (Habíb-allah).
Sídi Mohammed.
Sídi Bú-Bakr.
Bábá A'hmed.

} These four were only Welíye, without having the dignity of Sheikh.

Mukhtár, also called Mukhtár el kebír, in order to distinguish him from his grandson. With him the dignity of Sheikh was transferred into this branch of the family. He died, A.H. 1226 (A.D. 1811). A dream, or sacred vision, which he had in the year 1209, is very famous in those parts of Negroland.

Sídi Mohammed e' Sheikh died 2nd Shawál, 1241 (10th May, 1826), during Major Laing's residence in the hilleh in A'zawád.

Mukhtár, his eldest son, died 1263, in Timbúktu.

Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy, Mukhtár's younger brother, the present chief.

APPENDIX VIII.

TWO POEMS OF THE SHEIKH EL BAKA'Y, WHEREIN HE SATIRIZES THE FU'LBE OF MA'SINA.

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على من لا نبى بعده

و لشيخنا وسيدنا احمد البكاى بن شيخنا و سيدنا محمد بن شيخنا و سيدنا المختار يخاطب الجماعة الفلانية الماسنية لما ارادوا ضيفه عبد الكريم بارث الانكليزى النصرانى

قُلْ لِجَيْشِ الفُلْأن قُلْتُ شَنيعا رِمْتُ امْراً امْراً عظيما فظيعـــا
قد طلبتُمْ ضيفى سَتَلْقَوْنَ ضَيْفِي يَوْمَ تلقَوْنَهُ عزيزا منيعـــا
ضيفَ حُرٍّ لحرّة بنتِ حرّ وابوه حرٌّ اجاد الصنيعـــا
لم تَلِدْنى إماؤٌ ثم ما ربْـــــبَيْنَنِي فى حجورهِنّ رضيعـــا
و ابى مَنْ عَرَفْتُمْ وابوه ما عردنا مِنْ سامَ الّا رفيعـــا
ما عردنا من سام الّا كريما أَبْيَضَ الوجه سيّدا او قريعـــا

ليس فى اُمَّهاتهمْ بنتُ عبدٍ تَحْمل الفَحْمَ مِثْلَها أَنْ تَبيعـــا

ابنها ربها و لاكنِ اْبوه ربهُ بتَّ عتقهْ مستْطيعـــا

لم تلدنى بنتٌ لِحامَ ولا اْبنٌ لبنى حامَ الأَلِى لَنْ اطيعـــا

لبى حام الالى لا يرون الضْـــــضَيْفَ الاّ شهيرةٌ وبديعـــا

انّ ضيفى عِرْضى و ما كان عرْضى بمضاعٍ فضيفُه لَنْ يضيعـــا

انّ عبد مناف بن قُصَى بـــــن كِلاب بن مُرّة المستنيعـــا

ولوى بن غالب ونزار بـــــن معدّ أَوْصوْا بأَنْ لا أَكيعـــا

ونهانى فَهْرُ بنُ مالكِ بْنِ النْـــنَضْرِ أَنْ أَسْتَرِيبَ او أَسْتَرِيعـــا

عمرَ الشيخ من بنى احمد البكـــاءَ يَنْمى الوافِى حُرّا نصيعـــ

ونماه الكُنْتِىُّ نجلُ علِىٍّ كان من عُقْبَةَ المجاب صريعـــا

تِلْكَ آبايِىِ الكِرامُ و كانوا ضيفُهُمْ لا يَمُوتُ فى الدَهْرِ ضَيْعـــا

لا يَخافُ السلطانُ أَنَّ حَيْفَ أَوْ أَنَّ بَيْعَ السلطانِ لَيْسَ مَبِيعـــا

منكم لن يراع الا اذا السلـــــطان عبد المجيد من نكمه ريعـــا

دُونَ ما تَطْلبونَ حَرْبٌ و ضَرْبٌ و طعانٌ فى الزِنْجِ يُزْجِى النجيعـــا

دون ذاك الفتى وسمر العوالى و مصاعُ السُيُوفِ حولاً كتيعـــا

واحْتِباطُ الأَنْفاط هنّا و هنّا كَرُعُودٍ قَصَفْنَ ريحًا وريعـــا

تَحْمِلُ الموتَ فيه فِتْيانٌ ضَرُّوا تَحْسِبُ الموتَ رَوْضَةً و ربيعـــا

مِنْ رَعاريعَ أَوْغطاريفَ مُرْدٍ و كهولٍ شاختْ فى العزّ جميعـــا

فَوْقَ جُرْدٍ من الجياد عناجيـــــــجٍ يَعابيبَ عُوِّدَتْ انْ تميعـــا

من سِبَطْرٍ نَمْرٍ رباع شناحٍ كان غُرْبًا سُكْبا ذريعا سريعـــا

و نشاصيةٍ مطهّمةٍ سلـــــــــهبةٍ أَوْثَقَتْ قَرىً ودسيعـــا

من عِرابٍ للْحوض او لشكانَتْ او كِدالٍ تُسْقُوا الحَليبَ النقيعـــا

شَحْمتى فى فَلَعَتِي مَنْ تصدّى لِشِقاقى اضْحى قميعا قليعـــا

حَسَبى الله ربُّ موسى وعيسى و النبيين أَنّ ارانى كنيعـــا

آيَدَ الواحدَ الفريدَ بنصرٍ فاظلّ الجموع منه الجميعـــا

إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ كان أَغْوَى وأَقْوَى ضَلَّ فى اليمّ والجموع صريعـــا

ماسِنَى عَقِلوا اخاكم يكُنْ لى مِثْلَ بَلِّ الإمامِ خِلاًّ تبيعـــا

او يكُنْ لى كما مضى ابواه إِنْ هُما لَمْ يُصابِرا لَمْ يليعـــا

أَوْ يَدَعْنِى مِنْ شَرِّهِ وَأَدَعْهُ إِنَّ خيرا فى الشرّ أَنْ لا يشيعـــا

إِنَّ الاعْلامَ اهل الاحْلامِ مِنْكُمْ آلُ فُودِىَّ ما تَبَنُّوا رفيعـــا

ماتبنّوا الاَّ فَتًى أَحْوَذِيًا فى طريقِ العلىِ بصيرا سميعـــا
يُكْرِمون الكِرامَ إِذْ مِنْهُمْ هُمْ ثم لا يصحبون خلقا خليعـــا
ثم لا يصحبون الّا وِليًّا عالمًا شارعاً تقيًا و ريعـــا
احْسنوا مِنْ جوارنا ما أساتُمْ فلَدَيْنا الوِدادَ أَبْقوا وديعـــا
و لَدَيْنا الثناءَ أَبْقوا ربيطا و لدينا الإخاءَ ابقَوْا وضيعـــا
لَوْ تَشاعونَ مِثْلَهُمْ فيه كُنْتُمْ فَأَجَرْتُمْ راياً مَعًا و صنيعـــا
لاكِنِ ٱلطَّبْعَ مالِكٌ فَلَوَ ٱسْطَا ع جبانُ الوَرَى لأَضْحَى شجيعـــا

وله ايضا يخاطب الفلان فى شان ضيفه

أَحَقًّا اتى مِنْ عِنْدَ أَحْمَدَ احمد محمّد سِيد العَبْد و العبد اسْوَدَ
يُسَايِلُ عن ضيفى لِيَرْجِعَ ضيفَه فَيَسْلبه من ماله و يُقَيَّدُ
و يجعله ضيفًا لِكاوُورِ عِنْدَه وصن شِرْفُ ما ضَيْفِي لِهَذَا مُعَوَّدُ
أَيَقطانُ قال القول ام هو حالم بلى حالمٌ والله احمد احمد

ومن دون ضيفى عاقل ويلمّم ورضوى وهملّان وقدس وذرود

اياخذه من قبل أن تاخذ القنى على راسه والمشرفىّ المهنّد

اياخذه والسيف والرمح نائم على سرق إنّ الوشيج مقصّد

اياخذه أين التوارق كلّها ومن عرب شيخ وكهل وأمرد

بنو الشيخ عثمان بن فودى جندنا ومن جندنا موسى بن بوضال يشهد

وترغيتموت الاسد يقدم حيهم لكاوى بن ام القطبى يبرق يرعد

واخبى بن سالم حوله ايكودرن وللوغد أكبّ الحين جيش معنّد

وفى تنكريكيف رجال اعزّة بنو حمّلس القوم فيها تسوّد

وتنصر ضيفى من كلسوق فتية لهم أسد فى النايبات وأسود

هم القوم فى الاسلام لا يخذلونني وهم اخوتى اجدى الىّ وانجد

ولى من بنى الفلان الارض عصبة الى نصر دين الله تسعى وتجهد

أحبّ اليهم من بيتهم واهلهم وأنفسهم دين الاله يويد

اذا ما راوا كفرا وعصيان ربّهم ابوا ونبوا عن كلّ من هو مفسد

ولى من رجال الله فى الارض ثم من ملايكة نصر وجيش مشرّد

وحسبى فحسبى الله جلّ جلاله فما النصر الا منه والله أمجد

فما النصر الّا منه لا من مَليكٍ وإِنْ كَثَرُوا جِدًّا و عَزُّوا وحُمِّدُ (وا)

هو الله جلّ الله عَوَّدَ نصرَه على كلِ جبارٍ يَفُرُّ و يَعنِدُ

وانّى لَتَكْفِينِي مِنْ احمدَ دَعْوَةٌ إِلى الله فى جَوْفٍ مِنَ اليل تَصْعَدُ

أُسَدِّدُها سَهْمًا اليه بِسِحْرَةٍ فَيُصْبِحُ منها وهو بِالْمَوْتِ مقصد

فإِنْ تابَ يومًا فهْو خيرٌ له وان ابى لم يَتِبْ فَالأَمْرُ لِلّٰهِ مُسَدَّدُ

فمن قبله فرعونُ نمرودُقبله و عاد وشدادُ بْن عاد تَمَرَّدُ وا

فكلٌّ عليه قَدْ دعى انبِيَاءُهُمْ فقادوا وبادوا كلّهم وتَفَرَّدُ وا

دعى ربَّه موسى و عيسى و صالح وهود و ابراهيم ثم محمد

فَمَدْعُونا سُبْحَانَهُ واحدٌ كَمَا اجيبوا يُجِيبُ المومنين ويَنجد

فيا ربِّ انْصُرْنِى كَمَا قَدْ نَصَرْتَهُمْ فإِنَّكَ لا حَجْرٌ عليكَ ولا يَدُ

وصَلِّ عليهم ثم سَلِّمْ مُبارِكًا فما مِنْهُمُ الا حَمِيدٌ وأَحْمَدُ

TRANSLATION OF THE TWO POEMS OF A'HMED EL BAKA'Y.

By Dr. John Nicholson, Penrith.

"In the name of God," &c.

"And our Sheikh and Lord, A'hmed el Bakáy, the son of our Sheikh and Lord Mohammed, the son of our Sheikh and Lord El Mukhtár, said, addressing the assembly of the Fulán of Másina, when they attacked his guest, 'Abd el Kerím Barth, the Englishman, the Christian. (The metre is khafíf.)

"Tell the host of the Fulán,—I say, shameful! I am attacked in a great and weighty matter. Ye have sought my guest: you will find him, when you do find him, mighty, protected, the free guest of a free man, who is the son of a free woman who was daughter of a freeman, and whose father was a freeman, who lavished benefits. No slave bore me, nor did such foster mè in their bosoms as a suckling; and my father is he whom you know, and his father. We have not descended from Sém, except as noble, as munificent, as white of face, as lords or chieftains. Among their mothers there is no daughter of a slave who bears coals, like herself, that she may sell them; whose son is her master, whereas his father is his master; who effected his manumission, as being obedient. No daughter nor son of Hám was my parent, nor will I obey the sons of the lazy Hám. Among the sons of the lazy Hám none but fat women and corpulent men see guests [?]. My guest is my honour, and my honour never was in jeopardy; therefore its guest shall never be imperilled. 'Abd Menáf ben Kosay ben Kiláb ben Morra, my ancestor, and Luway ben Ghâleb, and Nizár ben Màdd, admonish me

not to fear; and Fehr ben Málik ben El Nadhr * forbids me to entertain alarm or suspicion. El Wáfi increases 'Omár, the Sheikh of the sons of A'hmed el Bakáy, by the addition of a fair, freeborn man; and El Kuntí increased him — the progeny of 'Alí — who sprang from 'Ukbå the Accepted, who perished heroically. Such were my ancestors, noblemen, and their guest never died in agony.

"The Sultan is not alarmed that the homage and allegiance of the Sultan will not be duly paid.† He will not be afraid of you, until the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd is afraid of Nukmah.‡ War and blows are to be found elsewhere than where ye seek; and wounds among the Zinj drive forth the flowing blood, — without molesting this man, — and long spears and cuts of swords round about on all sides, and the explosion of cannons hither and thither, like thunders which crash in blasts and reverberations. They consider the death in which men are destroyed, — they count it a garden and a vernal season of noble youths and gallant lads, and mature men who have grown old together in dignity, mounted on sleek, swift horses, steeds, coursers, trained to run, tall piebalds, five-year-olds, tall, fleet, wide-stepping, rapid, apple-rumped, plump, long-boned, strong in back and neck, Arabian blood-horses of El

* All the preceding names are those of well-known ancestors of Mohammed, the prophet: those that follow are the poet's own.

† I cannot approve this translation of Dr. Nicholson. I read صبيا and translate — "The sultan is not afraid, lest he may not be feared, or obedience not be paid him. The Sultan ('Abd el Mejíd) is not a young lad." El Bakay, I think, opposes here the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd to the young chief A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, who was quite a young man. Dr. Nicholson observes that there is a great fault in the metre of the first hemistich; but that the consonants of the text are strictly those of the MS.—H. B.

‡ This place, Nukmah, or Núgguma, is probably the small place of that name in Másina, and not the village called also "Ksar el Mallemín," mentioned above, p. 250. But I am not quite certain about it.—H. B.

Hódh, or Tagánet, or Kidál*, that are fed upon cooling milk.

"I am secure in my position.† He who attempts to contend with me will be cut off, overwhelmed. I rely on ALLAH, the Lord of Moses, and Jesus, and the Prophets, that I may see myself contented. HE aids the solitary and deserted with His help, so that He overwhelms the multitude altogether. Lo! Pharaoh was very wicked and very mighty: he lost his way in the sea, and the host were laid low.

"Oh, Másina! reprove your brother, that he may become a submissive friend to me, like the Imám Bello; or that he may be to me as both his parents were before: if they did not suffer, they did not fear. Or, let him leave me alone with his evil, and I will leave him alone. The best of evil is that it should not manifest itself.

"Behold! the learned and the humane among you, the Al Fódiye‡; they do not adopt a chief; they do not adopt any but one who is wise about the way of the Most High, and who sees and hears. They respect the honourable, because they are themselves such. They do not associate with the ignoble: they only consort with those that are saints, learned, poets, pious, abstemious. Repair the evil ye have done our neighbour; and preserve affection for us, preserve for us unfailing gratitude and inviolate brotherhood. If ye were willing, like them, ye should be in it, and would earn both fame and benefits. But nature is queen. If cowards only could, they certainly would be brave."

* Three districts celebrated for their breed of horses. Kidál lies between Mabrúk and the country of the Awelímmiden.—H. B.

† Literally, "My fat is in my wallet." Freitag, "Arab. Prov." i. p. 664.

‡ The poet here exhibits to the hostile ruler of Másina the docile behaviour of his friends, the rulers of Sókoto, the successors of the Sheikh Fódiye.—H. B.

"And he said again,—addressing the Fullán on the subject of his guest. (The metre is Tawíl.)

"Did Mohammed Síd, the slave, and that slave a black one, really come from A'hmed [ben] A'hmed, to inquire about my guest, in order to make him return as [become] his guest, that he might plunder him, and fetter him, and make him a guest of Kaúri with him, and with San-Shirfu?* My guest is not accustomed to this! Or did Yaktán say the speech? Is he not a dreamer? Yes, a dreamer, by Allah! A'hmed, A'hmed! And, besides my guest, there is 'Aákil, and Yalamlam, and Ridhwa, and Hamlán, and Kudsu, and Dhurwad.† Will he take him before death and the Indian scimitars seize on his own head? Will he take him while the sword and the spear are asleep, by stealth? Lo, the lances do not miss their aim! Will he take him where all the Tawárek are, and of the Arabs, a Sheikh, and a mature man, and a lad?

"The descendants of the Sheikh 'Othmán ben Fódiye are our army; and of our army Músa ben Bodhál is a witness; and Targaitamútu, the lions, whose tribe Likáway ‡, the nephew of Alkúttabu, leads, who lightens, thunders; and A'khbi ben Sálem, round whom are the Igwádaren, and Woghdu Agga'l Henne has a gathered host. And among the Tinkiríkíf there are noble men, the Benu Hammalása, whose troop shows valour; and young men from the Kél e' Súk, who are lions in calamities, and who are brave, assist my guest. These are the people in El Islám: they do not disappoint me,

* San-Shirfu is the name of one of the two kádhis of Timbúktu. Kaúri is the name of the emír.—H. B.

† This passage about Yaktán neither I nor Dr. Nicholson are able to clear up fully.—H. B.

‡ See what is said about this man, whose name is generally pronounced Elágwi, in the Appendix III. to Vol. V. p. 553. A'khbi, Woghdu, and the other people are mentioned repeatedly by me.—H. B.

and they are my brothers, and very useful and helpful to me. I have among the tribe of the Fullán a body of men in the land who run and hasten to defend the religion of ALLAH. Dearer to them than their house and family and souls is the religion of ALLAH, who is mighty! Whenever they see infidelity and rebellion against their Lord, they resist, and go aside from every impious person. And I have some of the men of ALLAH in the land, and also of the angels, as an auxiliary and a scattering host. And my trust—my trust is in ALLAH, whose majesty is great! and there is no help except from Him; and ALLAH is most mighty! So there is no help except from Him; not even from the angels, though they be mighty and worthy of praise. He is GOD, who is great! He redoubles His aid against every oppressor who is violent and exorbitant. As for me, it is sufficient protection against A'hmed that I should pray to ALLAH in the belly* of this night that approaches. I will aim my prayer at Him, at the dawn, like an arrow. He shall find himself, when he sees to-morrow, smitten with death. But if he repents one day, that will be best for him. But if he refuse,—will not repent,—then the matter is referred to ALLAH. Before him, Pharaoh, and Nimród, and 'Aád, and Sheddád ben 'Aád rebelled: but all those on whom their prophets invoked vengeance perished, and disappeared, and were desolated. Moses, and Jesus, and Sálih, and Húd, and Abraham, and subsequently Mohammed, called on their Lord. He alone then—glory to his name!—is the One we invoke. Just as they obey, so will He answer and help the faithful. Then, help me, O LORD, in the same way as Thou didst help them: for there is no defence and no help above Thee. And bless and prosper them with benedictions; for there are not any among them but those that deserve praise and honour.

"Finished with the help of GOD," &c. &c.

* *i.e.* The latter third.

APPENDIX IX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

HISTORY OF SONGHAY AND THE NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	300		The kingdom of Ghána, or Ghánata, the central portion of which comprised the present province of Bághena, founded by Wakayamagha or mangha (mangho = great? Magha = Mohammed?) about three centuries before the Hejra; the ruling family whites (Leucæthiopes? Fúlbe?). At the commencement of the Hejra twenty-two kings had ruled.*
Zá Alayámin (Zá el Yemeni) comes to Kúkiá (El Bekrí's Kúgha, Ca da Mosto's Cochia), a very ancient place, and the older residence of Songhay, and founds the eldest dynasty of the Zá. The Libyan origin of this dynasty, of which that of the Sonní was a mere continuation, is very distinctly intimated by Leo Africanus, in the words "della stirpe di Libya."‡	Begin. of 7th century.	Beginning of Hejra.	
	679-80	60	Already at this early date an extensive Mohammedan quarter existed in Ghánata, containing 12 mosques.† There is considerable doubt with regard to the accuracy of the date.

* A'hmed Bábá, J. L. O. S., vol. ix. p. 526.
‡ Descr. dell' Africa, lib. vii. c. 1.
† Mémoires de la Soc. de Géogr. vol. iii. p. 1.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	837	222	Death of Tilútan, chief of the Limtúna, very powerful in the desert; he adopted Islám, and converted the neighbouring Negro tribes.
Gógó, an important commercial place, where Makhled E'bn Kaidád, with the surname of A'bú Yezíd, that great revolutionist who brought so much mischief over Northern Africa, was born. His father came often from Tózer to this place for trading purposes*, evidently by way of Wárgelá, that most ancient trading place on the northern border of the desert. We thus see that *the commerce between Northern Africa and Negroland was infinitely older* than it has ever been supposed. I may here add, that I have not the slightest doubt that Wárgelá is meant by the Bakalitis of Ptolemy (lib. iv. c. 7, p. 305., ed. Wilberg.), which he describes from the side of Egypt as lying beyond Fezzán, although no Roman ruins exist in Wárgelá.	893	about 280	
	900	287	Death of Ilettan, the successor of Tilútan.
	918	306	Temím, the successor of Ilettan, slain by the Zenágha or Senhája, after which a division takes place among the Berber tribes established on the border of the Desert and Negroland.
Kúkiá still the ordinary residence of the king of Songhay, who already at that period becomes very powerful.	961	350	Tin-Yerútán, king of, or rather a Berber chief having his residence in, Aúdaghost, an important trading colony of the Zenágha, who appear at that time to have dominated over

* For this highly important statement, see E'bn Khaldún, trans. by De Slane, vol. iii. p. 201.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
			the whole of the neighbouring part of Negroland, including Ghánata. In the very year mentioned, this place, which carried on at that time a most flourishing trade with Sijilmésa, was visited by the Arab geographer, E'bn Haúkal.* Kúgha (Kúkíá) was at that period so powerful that the king of Aúdaghost thought it prudent to make presents to the king of that place (the king of Songhay), in order to prevent him from making war upon him. Nevertheless twenty-three Negro kings are said to have been tributary to another king of Aúdaghost, named Tinezwa, in the fourth century of the Hejra. —The site of Aúdaghost is quite evident from El Bekrí's excellent itinerary: — "You march five days in the sand-hills of Warán, till you come to the copious well of the Bení Wáreth; then further on the well Warán; then a well watered district of three days." At the same time the abundance of gum trees near Aúdaghost proves distinctly that the distance of fifteen days intervening between Aúdaghost, or Ghánata (near Waláta), is to be reckoned in a westerly direction, and that Aúdaghost therefore is to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Tejigja and Kasr el Barka, and not to the north-east of Waláta. I shall say more on this subject in another place. — At that time Aulíl was the great place for salt.

* Journal Asiatique, i. 1842, p. 50.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	990	380	Intercourse established with Negroland, according to the statement of Leo.*
Zá Kasí, the 15th prince of the dynasty of the Zá, adopts Islám.	1009	400	
	1034–5	426	A'bú 'Abd Allah, son of Tifaut, surnamed Naresht, again unites under his sway all the Berber tribes of the desert; makes a pilgrimage; dies 429.
	1040–1	432	Warjábi, the Mohammedan apostle of Tekrúr, died. Among others, the inhabitants of Silla were converted by him.
	1043–4	435	Jinni is founded†, and soon becomes wealthy, owing to the trade in salt (from Tegháza) and gold (from Bítu).
	1048–9	440	'Abd Allah E'bn Yasín begins to teach and to reform.
	1052	445	Aúdaghost, which had become dependent upon Ghánata, conquered and ransacked by the Merábetín, the disciples of 'Abd Allah Ebn Yasín, in the same year as Sijilmésa.
	1055–6	447	Yahia E'bn 'Omár, chief of the Merábetín, dies, and is succeeded by his brother A'bú Bakr. The king of Ghánata, Tankámenín, son of the sister of Besí, an excellent king, evidently dependent on A'bú Bakr.

* Leo, l. vii. c. 1. even speaks of Negroland as if it had been quite unknown before this time, "furono scoperti."

† Ahmed Bábá, J. L. O. S. vol. ix. p. 528. seq. He describes the site of this importaot town in the most perspicuous and clear manner as being part of the year, from August to February, an island. The town was first founded in a place called Zagaru, on the south side of the southerly branch of the river, and therefore not identical with the Zaghári of E'bn Batúta. El Bekrí appears to have had no knowledge of Jinni.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	1061	453	A'bu Bakr ben 'Omár makes an expedition on a grand scale against the Negro tribes.
A'bú 'Obaid Allah el Bekrí's invaluable Account of Negroland.			
Gógó *, or Gágho (the capital of Songhay), consisting of two towns, one the residence of the king and the quarter of the Mohammedans, the other inhabited by idolaters. The Mohammedan worship so predominant already, that none but a Moslím could be king; nay, on the accession of a new king three royal emblems, consisting of a ring, a sword, and a Kurán (مصحف), which were said to have been handed down from former times, having been sent by an Emír el Múmenín (evidently from Egypt), were given to him. Thus we see, that already at that early period the king of Songhay was a Ruler of the Faithful, and the account of A'hmed Bábá, who dates Islám in this kingdom from the year 400, is confirmed in a remarkable manner. El Bekrí calls the then ruling king Kandá, and he is most probably identical with the Zá Bayuki or Bayarkoy Kaima (of A'hmed Bábá), the third successor of Zá Kasí. Gógó already at that time was an important market place, chiefly for salt, which was brought from the Berber town Taútek, six days beyond Tademékka, which place was nine days from Gógó. El Bekrí, besides Gógó, gives a very interesting account of Kúgha, but, unfortunately, he gives † no par-	1067	460	The Senhája at this period ruled over the whole western part of the desert, and spread Islám over the neighbouring parts of Negroland, especially towards Ghánata. Further eastward, between the southerly bend of the Niger and the later town of A'gades, were the Seghmára, under the dominion of the Tademékka, who had a very large town (Tademékka), a great commercial centre, nine days from Gógó, and forty from Ghadámes. Between Tademékka and Ghánata there was a commercial place of importance called Tirekka (see Vol. V. p. 150.). Sáma and Hómbori, considerable seats of power.

* El Bekrí, ed. Macguckin de Slane, p. 183. The name بزركانيين which the Arabs gave to the inhabitants seems to have some connection with the surname of one of the successors of Sunni, Bázekin or Bázerkín.

† El Bekrí, 179. It is a great pity that just in this place the author, whose statements in general are distinguished by their clearness, should commit a palpable mistake, by placing Ambára (Hómbori) west of Ghánata.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
ticulars with regard to its situation, except the distance of fifteen days from Ghánata, and especially neglects to determine its situation with regard to Gógó; but there is no doubt that it was identical with the Kúkíá of A'hmed Bábá, the old capital, Ca da Mosto's Cochia.* This town, therefore, which was lying at the very outset of the Egyptian caravan road, already at that time was inhabited exclusively by Mohammedans, while all around were idolaters. It was the greatest market for gold in all Negroland, although the quality of the gold brought to Aúdaghost was better than that exported from Kúgha. Besides gold, salt, wod'a or shells (from Persia ?), copper and euphorbium (فربيون ?) were the chief articles of trade.			
	1076	469	Ghánata conquered by the Senhája, and great part of the inhabitants, as well as the neighbouring districts of Negroland, compelled by the Merábetín to embrace the Mohammedan faith.
Towards the end of the fifth century of the Hejra, Timbúktu, or Túmbutu, founded by the I'móshagh (Tawárek), especially the tribes of the I'denán and the Imedídderen, after it had been for a time their occasional camping ground, just as was the case with A'rawán. First settlement at Bósebángo. It was at first a small market place for the inhabitants of the province of Rad. (?)			A'bú Bakr ben 'Omár takes up his residence in this part of Negroland.
	1087–8	480	A'bú Bakr ben 'Omár dies.

* Aloise Ca da Mosto, Navigazione, c. 14.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	1153	548	El Edrísi's account of Negroland, composed at this period, is not to be relied on in general, with the exception of a few instances, where he enters into particulars: for instance, the populous state of the towns of Silla and Tekrúr (Zágha), the latter being more populous and industrious; the salt mines of Aulíl,—the only ones known at that time in Negroland! (p. 11.); the rising of the Mandingo, or Wángara race (the Wákoré), a name then first appearing. Very doubtful appear the following data:—Tirki, or Tirekka, belonging to Wángara; even Kúgha, a dependence of Wángara, while at the same time Gógó—the real Gógó *—is said to have been absolute and independent. The great commercial importance of Wárgelá is confirmed, the inhabitants supplying Gógó with dates, and buying up the greater part of the gold brought there to market. Rice cultivated on the Niger, in the district of the Merása.
Gógó, according to Edrísi, powerful, and dominating over the neighbouring tracts; horses and camels; the nobility well dressed, having the face veiled; the common people wearing leathern frocks. The natives of Aújila already at that period carried on a spirited trade with Gógó (Edrísí, vol. i. p. 238.).			Ghánata ruled by a descendant of A'bú Táleb †, of the Zenágha tribe, who paid allegiance to the khalíf in the East; but, if we can believe Edrísi, he had still a large empire.
	1203–4	600	Ghánata having become very weak, is conquered by the Súsu, a tribe related to the Wákoré.

* Edrísi makes great confusion, produced by the similarity of the names, Gógó or Kókó, Kúka (on the Fittri), and Kerker; but what he relates (i. p. 23.) seems really to refer to Gógó.

† Edrísi, i. p. 61.; Compare Cooley, p. 66.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	1203–4	600	The tribe or dynasty of the A'rúsíyin becomes powerful in the neighbourhood of Waláta.
			The inhabitants of Jinni, at least the ruling portion, including the king, adopt Islám.
Timbúktu (erroneously) stated by Leo Africanus* to have been founded by Mansa Slímán. This is evident confusion; the reason of which is, that Mansa Slímán, who reigned in the middle of the fourteenth century, restored Timbúktu after it had been plundered by the people of Mósi.	1213	610	? Baramindána, first Moslim king of Melle, styled king of Tekrúr by Makrízi, makes the pilgrimage.
	1233–4	631–633	With the death of E'bn Ghanía the domination of the great race of the Senhája ends.† The remains of this great tribe in the southern part of the desert (the Limtúna and Messúfa) [the latter as Meshedúf] are gradually reduced to the degraded condition of tributaries. Islám spreads east of the Niger, and the name Tekrúr appears in Kebbi, probably in connection with the town of Zágha (see Appendix VI.). *Bíru*, or *Waláta*, at that time the great emporium of Western Negroland.
	1235–1260	633–658	Mári Játah, king of Melle, on the upper Niger, conquers the

* Leo, l. vii. c. 6. As it is certain that no king of the name Slímán ruled at that period over Melle, Mr. Cooley, in order to explain Leo's statement, supposed him to be a king of the Súsu. — *Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 67. seq.

† E'bn Khaldún, trans. by De Slane, vol. ii. p. 83. The same author, vol. ii. p. 160. seq., is the authority for the history of Melle. Comp. Cooley, "Negroland," p. 61. seq.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
			Súsu, who at that time were masters of Ghánata. This is evidently the period of the beginning of the great commercial importance of Jinni, which now became a most powerful and wealthy state, as a well-frequented market of the Serracolets or Wakoré, Fúlbe, Jolof, Zenágha, the inhabitants of Western Tekrúr, and the Udáya.*
	1259 –1276	658–675	Mansa Wáli, son of Mári Játah, performs the pilgrimage to Mekka in the reign of Sultan Bibars.
	1276	675	Mansa Wáli, brother of the latter.
			Mansa Khalífa, succeeds him; of insane mind; is murdered by his people.
			Mansa A'bú Bakr.
Some authors, such as Makrízi (Opuscl. Mscr. fol. 129 r.), attribute to this chief the conquest of Gágho or Gógó, that is to say, Songhay, by the Mellians; but from the account of A'hmed Bábá it is clear that such was not the case.	1310	710	Sákúra, or rather Sábkara, a usurper, made the pilgrimage to Mekka in the time of El Málík e' Násir.
	1311 –1331	711–731	Mansa Músa (properly Kunkur Músa), the greatest king of Melle, succeeds this usurper, develops the whole military and political power of that kingdom, which,

* De Barros, Asia, ed. Lisboa, 1778, l. i. c. 8. p. 220.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
			according to the expressive terms of A'hmed Bábá*, the Songhay historian, possessed "an aggressive strength without measure or limit." While thus extending his dominion over an immense portion of Negroland, he kept on the very best terms with the Sultan A'bú'l Hassan of El Mághreb (Morocco). Mansa Músa subjected to his dominion the four large territories of the Western part of Negroland; first, Bághena, formed out of the remnants of the kingdom of Ghánata, and including the whole inhabited country of Tagánet and A'derér; secondly, Zágha, or the Western Tekrúr, together with Silla; then Timbúktu, at that time still, as it seems, independent of Gógó; and finally Songhay, with its capital Gógó. Jinni, however, probably owing to its nearly insular character seems not to have become subjected to Melle even at this period, although it was engaged in continual warfare.
It is probably at the period of this pilgrimage, and not before, that both Songhay and Timbúktu became dependent on Melle, although the dependence was even at this time limited, the king of Songhay having, as it seems, quietly made his subjection on the approach of the host of Melle. Músa built a mosque and a mihráb outside the then town (Mohammedan quarter ?) of Gógó. Timbúktu also, as it would seem,	1326	726	Mansa Músa makes a pilgrimage to Mekka, with a very numerous cortége, resembling an army, and with great riches, going by way of Waláta and Tawát and returning by Gágho or Gógó. Melle Proper seems to have had a double principle of government, one political and the other national. In political respects Melle was divided into two provinces — a northerly

* A'hmed Bábá, in Journ. Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 530.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
surrendered without resistance *, and the king of Melle built here a palace (ma-dugu), and the great mosque Jéngeré-bér, or Jáma el kebíra, with the assistance of the same I's-hák, a native of Granáta (the "Granata vir artificissimus" of Leo, although commonly called e' Sáheli, as if he were a native of Morocco), who built his palace in Melle. That space of the town of Timbúktu included between the two great mosques, Jéngeré-bér in the south-western, and Sankoré in the northern quarter, was at that time open, and not inhabited. The mosque San-koré is generally stated to have been the oldest mosque in Timbúktu, although A'hmed Bábá, who only states that it was built at the expense of a rich wife, is not very explicit with regard to this circumstance.			and a southerly one, probably divided by the Dhiúliba; the governor of the former being called Faraná (Farengh) Súra, the other Sangharzú-ma.† But in national respects Melle formed three large provinces, Kála, Bennendúgu, and Sabardúgu, each with twelve chiefs or governors ‡, and each represented at court by an inspector; the inspector of the province of Kála was called Wafála-ferengh. Kála comprised evidently the province next to Jinni along the northern side of the river, including the towns of Sáre and Sáme; and the town of Kála itself, which formed the residence of the province, will be spoken of in the Appendix to Vol. V. Bennendúgu, also, the country of the Benni, known from other accounts, lay entirely on the S. side of the river, and Sabardúgu beyond, in the direction of the central portion of Melle. The important district Bitu or Bido seems to have been included in Melle Proper.
Although Timbúktu thus lost its independence, it reaped a great advantage from becoming a portion of a powerful kingdom, and being thus well protected against any violence offered on the part of the neighbouring Berber population; and in consequence the town increased rapidly, it becoming soon a market place of the first rank, so that the most respectable merchants from Misr, Fezzán, Ghadámes, Tawát, Tafilélet, Darah, Fás, Sús, and other places gradually left Bíru or Waláta, and			

* The translation of Mr. Ralfs in the Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society is here not correct. He translates "er bezwang Tumbúktu," while the words of the author are طوع تنبكت. We do not know what part in these affairs the general, Sagminhu, bore, who, according to Ebn Khaldún's account, was stated by some of his informants to have achieved this conquest. There may have been partial resistance in Songhay.

† سنغرزو مع ـ فَرَبا سرا. The final "ma," in Mandingo, corresponds exactly with the final "ma" in the Kanúri titles.

‡ It is a very remarkable fact, that the titles mentioned by A'hmed Bábá are all formed by attaching to the name of a town the syllable "koy," which would seem to be of Songhay origin.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
migrated to Timbúktu, although this was more frequently the case after the time of Sonní 'Alí.			
The town of Timbúktu ransacked and destroyed by fire and sword by the king of Mósi, the garrison of Melle making their escape, and giving up the town. The power of Mósi, which up to this time has always been the successful champion of paganism, is very remarkable at such an early period, but the date is not quite certain within a year or two. If the date given be right, it happened towards the end of the reign of Mansa Músa.	1329	? 730	
	1331–5	732–736	Mansa Mágha succeeds to his father Mansa Músa, and reigns four years.
The Songhay prince, 'Alí Killun, or Kilnu, son of Zá Yásebí, escapes in the company of his brother from the court of Melle, where the princes had served as pages, Songhay owing allegiance to Melle at that period. Having safely reached his native country, Songhay Proper, with the capital Gógó, he makes himself independent in a certain degree from Melle, by founding the dynasty of the Sonni.*			
	1335–6	736	Mansa Slímán, a brother of Músa and uncle of Mágha, succeeds to the throne of Melle, and restores the strength of the kingdom.
Timbúktu having been left, as it seems, to itself for seven years, relapses into a state of subjection		737	Mansa Slímán again takes possession of Timbúktu†, and even obliges Songhay Proper

* A'hmed Bábá says (p. 524.), "'Alí Killun put an end to the supremacy of Melle over Songhay. After his death his brother ruled, Silman Nár. Their dominion was limited to Songhay and the neighbouring districts."

† The date seems to be certain, for if A'hmed Bábá had only known that the second dominion of the kings of Melle over Timbúktu, which they lost in the year 837, had lasted 100 years, we might doubt about the fact that the epoch began exactly with the year 737, but the author gives the precise date of that very year. I therefore prefer his arrangement to the arguments of Mr. Ralfs, p. 582.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
or allegiance to Melle, and remains in this condition for the next 100 years.			to acknowledge his supremacy.
		752	A king of Tekrúr makes a pilgrimage.*
Travels of E′bn Batúta, who visits Waláta, the frontier province of Melle, and an important trading-place, where at that time the Masúfa formed the higher class; thence by way of Karsekho, he went to Melle, or Máli, the capital of the great empire, situated on a northerly creek of the Dhiúliba†; whence he proceeded by land by way of Mímah to Timbúktu.	1352–3	753–754	
Timbúktu at that time was inhabited mostly by people of Mímah and by Tawárek (Moláthemín), especially Masúfa, who had a headman of their own, while the Melle governor was Farba Músa.			The town of Tademékka, or rather Súk, in the territory of the Tademekket, had by this time evidently lost a great deal of its importance.
E′bn Batúta embarked in Timbúktu, or rather Kábara, and went along the river to Gógó, evidently at that time the common highroad of travellers. Gógó at that period was in a certain degree dependent on Melle.			
	1359	760	Mansa E′bn Slímán reigned nine months.
	1360	761	Mansa Játah, son of Mansa Mágha, ascended the throne.
	1360–1	762	The same king sent an embassy to A′bú el Hassan of Morocco.
The fact of Mari Játah conquering Tekádda, at that time the commercial entrepôt between Songhay and Egypt, also mentioned by E′bn Batúta, shows clearly that he was master of Songhay, and exercised over it a certain degree of supremacy. Timbúktu, as Timbuch, appears in the *Mappamondo Catalan* — the first time that it becomes known to Europeans.	1373	775	Mansa Músa (II.), son of the latter, a weak king, the vizier Mári Játah usurping the power and conquering Tekádda (the trading place spoken of on a former occasion, Vol. I. p. 465.) for a short time.

* Makrízi, Notes et Extraits, vol. xii. p. 638. *note.*

† Cooley, "Negroland," p. 79.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	1387	789	Mansa Mágha, brother of the preceding king, succeeds to the throne; is killed after a reign of about a year.
	1388	790	Another usurper.
	1390	792	Mahmúd, a descendant of Mári Játah, the first king.
	1431	835	A king of Tekrúr makes a pilgrimage, dies in the town of Tór in the peninsula of Sinai.
Timbúktu conquered by the I'móshagh (probably not the Masúfa, at that time not yet blended with the Arabs, and who had always been powerful in that place) under A'kil (Eg Malwal). The people of Melle had been so much weakened by continual inroads that they retired before the greater force, and were driven out for ever. A'kil, however, did not reside in the town, preferring a nomadic life; but he installed as governor, or Túmbutu-koy, Mohammed Násr, a Senháji from Shingít, who had also taken part in the government of the town under the rule of Melle. This Mohammed Násr built the mosque Yáhia in Timbúktu, which was called after his friend the Weli Yáhia from Tádelest. To the Túmbutu-koy belonged the third part of all taxes and of the whole revenue of the town. In the beginning the rule of the Tawárek, which according to the distinct statement of A'hmed Bábá never extended beyond the river, was mild; but gradually they became overbearing, using even violence towards the wives of the inhabitants, and offending 'Omár, the son and successor of Mohammed Násr, by cheating him of his revenue.	1433	837	The empire of Melle begins gradually to decline; the power being divided among three, or rather five, separate parties, the governors of each of the three national provinces and the two governors of the political provinces; the Tawárek at the same time spreading devastation everywhere.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
	1448	852	The Portuguese Company for opening the trade along the coast of Africa is established.
Timbúktu, or Túmbutu, an important entrepôt for the salt trade.	1454	860	Melle, in the account of Aloise Ca da Mosto, still a very powerful kingdom, the most powerful in the whole of Negroland, including the whole of the Gambia, and most important for the commerce of gold, the trade in which divided into three branches; one proceeding from Melle towards Kúkíá, and thence to Egypt; the other from Melle to Túmbutu, and thence to Tawát; the other likewise by way of Túmbutu, but thence to Wadán (Oden), which then was a very important place, not only for gold but also for the slave trade.* Timbúktu already at that time was a very important entrepôt for the salt, which all came from the mines of Tegháza.
	1460	865–6	The town of A'gades, built according to Marmol (see Vol. I. p. 459.), and nothing is more probable than that this commercial entrepôt was built about this time, perhaps a few years later, as it is Sonni 'Alí who is said to have destroyed the very important market-place of Tademékka, which for many centuries had carried on the commerce between the Niger and Egypt.
Sonni 'Alí, son of Sonni Mohammed Dáú, "the great tyrant and famous miscreant," but a king of the highest historical importance for Negroland, the sixteenth of the Sonni, ascended the throne in Gágho, and changed the whole	1464–5	869	

* Ca da Mosto, Prima Navigazione, c. 13. With regard to Oden, see c. 10.; for Timbúktu, c. 12.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
face of this part of Africa by prostrating the kingdom of Melle.			
Invited by 'Omár, the Túmbutu-koy, Sonni 'Alí marches against Timbúktu, which had never before belonged to Songhay Proper. While his horsemen appear on the south side of the river, A'kil makes his escape towards Bíru or Waláta. Sonni 'Alí then, instead of attacking immediately the town of Timbúktu, went first to El Hódh, the south-western province of Waláta. Having thence returned to Timbúktu, from whence 'Omár also, the Túmbutu-koy, had meanwhile fled to Bíru*, he ransacked and plundered the town, and made a terrible havoc amongst its inhabitants, even surpassing that which took place on the occasion of the pagan king of Móshi conquering the town. Sonni 'Alí seems especially to have exercised some cruelty against the learned men. But, notwithstanding, the town seems soon to have recovered from this blow, for it was in the latter part of this century that it became more densely inhabited than before. But the reason was that, in consequence of the conquests of Sonni 'Alí, the Arab merchants from the north broke off their traffic with Ghánata or Waláta (Bíru), and instead began to visit the markets of Timbúktu and Gógó.	1468–9	873	Waláta or Bíru becomes insignificant, all the merchants emigrating to Timbúktu and Gógó.
Sonni 'Alí conquered Bághena, that is, the centre or original part of the ancient kingdom of Ghánata and the later Waláta, but satisfied himself with making the chief of that country his tributary. Sonni 'Alí then made Jinni likewise tributary, which place had not been con-			

* From A'hmed Bábá we learn nothing more respecting the fate of 'Omár; but we see in another passage that Sonni 'Alí imprisoned Al Mukhtár, another son of Mohammed Nasr, who, from what follows, it is evident, was Túmbutu-koy.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
quered even by the kings of Melle, and he there likewise caused an immense bloodshed. Jinni was at that time highly flourishing through its industry in native cloth.* At a later time the first A'skíá held the king of Jinni as a prisoner in his capital. (Leo, l. vii. c. 3.)			
It must have been Sonni 'Alí to whom João II. of Portugal, sent an embassy; and it was evidently that king who allowed the Portuguese to establish a factory in Wadán, or Hóden, which however they did not preserve for a long time, the place being too barren, and at too considerable a distance from the coast. But nevertheless, the establishment of this factory is a very remarkable fact.			In the South-Western part of the desert the Berabísh and the Udáya struggling for the predominance. The Zenágha already in a degraded position.
	1471	876	The coast of Guinea explored by the Portuguese.
	1481	886	Alfonso V. dies; is succeeded by the still more energetic João II. The Portuguese build Elmina, the first European establishment on the coast of Guinea.
	1488	894	The Jolof Prince, Bemoy, came to Portugal, and communicated so much information with regard to the nations of the interior of Africa, especially the Mósi, who, according to him, had much in common with Christians, that he excited the greatest interest. It was supposed that the king of Mósi was the long sought Prester John. Ogane is the native royal title of the king of Mósi. In consequence, from this time forward, numerous messengers were sent into the interior by

* De Barros, in the highly interesting passage, i. l. 3. c. 12. p. 257.; and the curious report of the German Valentin Ferdinand, by Kunstmann, in Abhandlungen der K. Baier. Akad. cl. iii. vol. viii. first section a. 1856. It is, however, remarkable that the German author, although he speaks of Wadán, does not say anything of it ever having been a factory.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
			the king João from different quarters, and a nearer alliance seems to have been concluded with the king of the Mandingoes, although it was well understood in Portugal at that time that the empire of the Mellians had fallen to ruin.
Sonni 'Alí was drowned in a torrent on his return from an expedition against Gurma, after having conquered the Zoghorán* (not Zaghwána) and the *Fullán.*	5th Nov. 1492	15th Mohar. 898	
The power of the tribe of the Fullán in those quarters, in the south of Songhay, at so early a date is of the highest interest; in the west they are noticed at the same period repeatedly by De Barros.†			
The army of the deceased king proceeded from B'anebi (Benàba? the capital of Gurma, see Appendix VI. p. 560.) to Dangha, evidently the place (Denga) touched at by myself on my journey, and here A'bú Bakr Daú, son of Sonni 'Alí, ascended the throne. But Mohammed, son of A'bú Bakr, a native of Songhay ("Nigrita"—Leo) and officer of Sonni, collected his party and marched against the new king. But having attacked him at Dangha, he was beaten, when he escaped to the neighbourhood of Gágho, where he collected again his army, and vanquished the king in a most sanguinary but decisive battle. Sonni A'bú Bakr Daú fled to Abar (Adar?), where he died.	- -	2 Jumád, 898	
Mohammed ben A'bú Bakr, surnamed e' Thúri, on ascending the throne with the titles Emír el Múmenín and Khalífa el Moslemín, adopted as royal title, A'skiá, or	- -	14 Jum. II. 898	

* See what I have said respecting the tribe of the Zoghorán, or Jawambe, p. 175.
† See De Barros, in the passage mentioned before, "rey dos Fullos."

Songhay.	A D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Síkkia.* Thus the dynasty of a foreign family, Libyan, Coptic, or Himyaritic, was supplanted by a native Songhay and African — (e tornò el dominio nei Negri) — although it leaned more towards Islám and Mohammedan learning than the former one. For A'skíá was a friend of the learned, and followed their advice.			
The first thing which this great Songhay king felt it incumbent to do was to give his subjects some repose, by reducing his army and allowing part of the people to engage in pacific pursuits, all the inhabitants having been employed by Sonni 'Alí in warlike purposes.			
Altogether it does not appear exaggerated what A'hmed Bábá says of this distinguished king, that "God made use of his service in order to save the true believers (in Negroland) from their sufferings and calamities."			
Immediately after his accession to power, A'skíá sent for his brother 'Omár from Bíru or Waláta, which place already at this time had so totally merged into a Songhay province, that the Songhay idiom, at least in the higher circles, where a traveller like Leo was likely to move about, had becomethe common language. "Questa gente," says Leo of the inhabitants of Waláta, "usa un certo linguaggio detto Sungai." † A'skíá then made his brother, in whom he had implicit confidence, Túmbutu-koy in the place of ‡ Al Mukhtár ben Mohammed Násr.			The Songhay language extends as far as Waláta and Jinni.
He then sent his other brother, like-	1494	end of 899	

* The origin of this name, as stated by A'hmed Bábá, is not very probable. But although it is true that "A'skíá" was rather a royal title, which the founder of this new dynasty adopted, nevertheless, in Negroland, the popular name of this great ruler and conqueror is nothing but A'skíá, and that was the reason why Leo calls him only by this name, changing it into Ischia.

† Leo, l. vi. c. 2. p. 138., ed. Venezia, 1837.

‡ These words Mr. Ralfs (p. 533.) has neglected to translate.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
wise called Omár, but with the surname Kumzághu*, the feréng of Kúrmina who conquered the important town of Zágha, and made war against "Bukr má," (Burkumá?), evidently a Mandingo governor of the empire of Melle. He also, according to Leo, imprisoned the ruler of Jinni, whom Sonni 'Alí had allowed to reside in his own capital, and kept him during his lifetime a prisoner in Gágho, ruling Jinni by means of a governor.			
Having thus not only consolidated, but even extended, the empire, the first A'skíá undertook a pilgrimage to Mekka, which brought him into contact with the princes and learned men of the East, and made him more famous than any other of his enterprises. The most distinguished men of all the tribes under his command accompanied him on his great journey, especially the great Weli Múr Sáleh Júr, a Wákoré, native of the town of Tutálna‡ in the province of Tindírma, and 1500 armed men, 1000 on foot and 500 on horseback. He took with him 300,000 mithkál, but behaved so generously that, according to Leo, he was obliged to contract a loan of 150,000 mithkál more. He had an official investiture performed by the Sherí'f el 'Abási, as Khalífa in Songhay, and took the advice of the most learned and pious men, such as Jelál e' Soyúti. He also	20th Sep. 1495 - -	901 Safer, 902	João II., the indefatigable king of Portugal, died, whose spirit found no repose but in promoting the welfare of his people, and in distant discoveries, especially in Africa. As we learn from an occasional hint in De Barros†, this king had already sent an ambassador to the Mansa of Melle.

* Whether this 'Omár received his surname Kumzághu only from the circumstance of his taking the town of Zágha, we cannot decide; but there is no doubt that he must be distinguished from the other brother of the same name, else A'hmed Bábá would be guilty of an absurdity. We never find that a governor of the important province of Kúrmina was at the same time Túmbutu-koy; and the difference of the two individuals is quite evident, for 'Omár Kumzághu died 926, and 'Omár, son of Bú Bakr, — that is to say, his other brother, — the Túmbutu-koy, 928. See further down.

† De Barros, i. l. iii. c. 12, p. 257, dizendo (the later Mansa, in Manuel's time) que havia em boa ventura ser lhe enviado este mensajeiro, porque a seu avô que tinha a seu proprio nome fora, enviado otro mensajeiro do otro Rey D. João de Portugal.

‡ Tukalna, as the name is given by Ralfs, is wrong.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
founded a charitable institution in Mekka for the people of Tekrúr.			
Háj Mohammed A'skíá returned to Gágho.	August 1497–8	Dhú el Hajja, 903	
Háj Mohammed undertakes an expedition, or a formal jihád, against Nàsi the sultan of Mósi, having sent the Weli Múr Sáleh Núr as an ambassador to that king, in order to induce him to embrace Islám. But the Mósi people having consulted the souls of their ancestors, and refused to change their native worship, A'skíá devastated their country. He came back from this expedition in Ramadhán. He (himself or 'Othmán)	1498–9	904	
then conquered the country of Bághena, the ancient seat of the empire of Ghánah, or Ghánata, the king of which had already been made tributary by Sonni 'Alí, and slew the Féllani (Púllo) chieftain Damba-dumbi. We therefore at this early period find the Fúlbe very powerful, as well in the south (Gurma, see p. 596.) as in the north-west; while from De Barros we learn, that their power in the south-west was not less great.	1499–1500	905	
The Songhay king made an expedition against Abairu (?), and deprived him of his kingdom.*	1500	906	
A'skíá then sent his brother 'Omár Kumzághu against Melle, where the Káid Kám Fati Kalliyen seems to have exercised at the time supreme power; but 'Omár not feeling himself strong enough to take the town of Zillen, or Zalna, where the court of Melle seems to have been, he sent for the king himself, encamping meanwhile in a place called Tánfaren, a little to the east from Zillen. Háj Moham-	1501	907	

* In the Gibla, the south-western district of the great desert, there is a tribe of the name Welád Abéri.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
med A'skíá then came in person, vanquished the káíd, destroyed the town, together with the palace of the king of Melle, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. According to Leo*, A'skíá made the whole of Melle tributary, laying such a heavy tribute upon that ruler that he entirely tied his hands. Nevertheless the capital of Melle still at that time was a flourishing place, and the largest town in Negroland, containing about 6000 dwellings. Perhaps this is the town called Zillen, or Zalna, by A'hmed Bábá.			
In the same year Háj Mohammed A'skíá sent an expedition against Bargú, or, as it is more justly called, Barbú†, the country enclosed between Gurma, Yóruba and the great river. The inhabitants of this country being a very warlike set of people, the struggle appears to have been very violent; and although A'hmed Bábá does not seem to intimate the whole of the result, yet it is clear, from the fact that the Songhay king was occupied with Bargú for the next four or five years, that he met with great resistance; this is also clearly indicated by traditions still extant in that country, the name Bargú being generally derived from the Songhay words five (go), horses (beri); "five horses" being the only remnant of an army led into the country by the Songhay king. Such a state of things is also clearly indicated by another document.‡			'Alí Ghajídéni, the powerful king of Bórnu (see Vol. II. p. 644), about this time probably undertook his expedition to the south-western frontier of his large empire, beyond the Kwára, in order to protect it against the encroachments of his powerful contemporary the Songhay king.
The Songhay king made an expe-	1506	912	

* This is probably the meaning of the words of Leo, l. vii. c. 4.

† This true native form of the name of that country A'hmed Bábá gives himself. At the time when I made the excerpts I did not identify the name, having misspelt it Barka; but the form Barbú is quite decisive.

‡ Appendix to Clapperton's Second Expedition, p. 338.: — "And it is recorded that, when the equitable Prince Hadgi Mohammed Allah-kaja (A'skíá) ruled over this province, he could gain no advantage over them."

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
dition against Kelinbút. The following years no expedition seems to have been undertaken, the A'skíá being busy with the internal affairs of his extensive empire which extended from Kebbi in the east as far as the present country of Kaarta, and from Bennendúgu as far as Tegháza. It appears that he staid the greater part of this period near Timbúktu, where he was evidently *when Leo visited* this part of Africa, who thought Timbúktu to be his usual residence, but nevertheless was fully aware, although he did not clearly express it, that Gágho was his other residence — "Questo signor fu preso dal detto Izchia e tenuto in *Gágo* fino alla morte," l. vii. c. 3, at the end. The A'skíá staid in Kábara, "the well known harbour," when he heard of the learned man, the fákih Mahmúd, having come to Gágho, and he immediately embarked and went there by water; for almost all the intercourse between Timbúktu and the whole western quarter on the one side, and the centre of the Songhay empire with its capital on the other, was along the river.			
Háj Mohammed sends the Bakukurakoy 'Alí Fulánu and Belgha Mohammed Kirí against Ma Futa* Kaitál, the fereng of Bághena, who had revolted.	1511	917	
Háj Mohammed, always extending his empire further westward, marched against a powerful chieftain, Allaín† Almatní Tíndhar, and slew him in Zárú. This is a highly interesting expedition, as	1512	918	

* باغن فرن مع فُتَ كَيتال The name is remarkable; "m'a," a Mandingo word; it may belong to the title "fereng," as a sort of tautology.

† اللعين المتنى تيمنصر It is not improbable that the name Allaín expresses the national term Dhelian, or Dhelianke, to whom this founder of the new dynasty in Fúta Tóro belonged.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
the results of it exercised a powerful influence as far as the coast, where the enterprising Portuguese were at that time establishing their power. For it happened just at the time that Kolli, Allaín's eldest son was absent on an expedition, and when he heard of the fate of his father he fled with his army to Fúta, which at that time belonged to the king of Jolof, and endeavoured to assume the sovereign power, in which attempt he succeeded, by the slaughter of the king of Jolof. The country of Jolof thus became divided between Kolli (Kolli Salti [Sáttigi ?] Tíndhar) and Dúmala (Dámil, a common title, the Temala of the Portuguese), the most powerful of the governors of the former king of Jolof.			The Portuguese in the Senegal quite surprised at the great flame of war (incendio di guerra) which at that time ravaged all the countries from east to west.* Kolli founded a powerful Negro dynasty, and was succeeded by his son Yuríma, to whom succeeded Kalábi (Kolli Labbe) Batára, a most excellent prince, celebrated on account of his piety and justice; then followed Kata, son of Yuríma.
At the end of this year, the Songhay king marched against Kátsena, and returned from thence in the first Rebí of the following year. This is an extraordinary short time for so distant an expedition, even if he had been residing in the easternmost part of his empire at the time when he undertook it. Nevertheless, if we can believe Leo, the A'skíá conquered not only Kátsena but also Góber (which already at that time had a very large capital and a good trade, and considerable industry, especially in leather	1513	919	The Portuguese, under D'Ataide, take possession of Azemmúr.

* The following is the highly interesting account which we have received from De Barros (*Asia*, I. l. 3. c 12. p. 258.) of this great commotion: — "E não somente per estes e per Pero d' Evora, mas ainda per hum Mem Royz escudeiro de sua casa e per Pero de Astuniga seu moço d' esporas que elle levava por companheiro, mandou El Rey algunas vezes recados a El Rey de Tungubutu e ao mesmo *Temalá* (Damil) que se chiamava Rey dos Fullos. O qual Temalá nestes tiempos foi nas quellas partes *hum incendio de guerra* levantandose da parte do Sol ex huma Comarca chamada Fnta con tanto numero de gente que seccavam hum rio quando a elle chegavam; e assiera esquivo e barbaro este açoute d' aquella gente pagã que assolava quanto se lhe punha diante. E como con vesta ferocidade tinha feito grande damno emos amigos e servidores del Rey, principalmente a el Rey de Tungubutu, Mandi Mansa, Uli Mansa mandou lhe per alguoas vezes seus recados de amizade, e outros de rogo sobre os negocios da guerra que tinha com estes." It is highly interesting to see how the course of affairs in this quarter confirms all that we know from other sources. Thus M. le Colonel Faidherbe, at present governor of the Senegal, in opposition to common tradition, which would have carried back the foundation of the new dynasty in Fúta, which he well understood proceeded from the east, to the middle of the fourteenth century, arrives at the conclusion that it must have beeu established about the year 1500. *Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr.*, iv. p. 281.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
work), Zánfara, Zegzeg, Kanó, and almost the whole of Háusa*; but it would almost appear to me as if Leo in this case had confounded A'skíá with Kanta, the ruler of Kebbi.			The Háusa Statcs become important—Korórofa.
	1514	920	Thc Portuguese occupy Tednest.
About the end of this year the A'skíá marched against Al-'Adálet, the king of A'gades, and returned from thence the following year, having driven out, as we know from other sources †, the Berber tribes, and transplanted there a good many of his own people, although the Songhay language may have been spoken there before this period. However, it is evident from Leo's account ‡, who seems to know nothing of this expedition, that the king of A'gades paid tribute to A'skíá already before this time. At all events this was the highest pitch of power to which not only Háj Mohammed himself, but the A'skíás in general, attained; for, on his return from this	1515	921	
expedition, Kanta, the governor of Léka, in the province of Kebbi, who owed him allegiance, and who had accompanied him in this war, demanded his share in the booty, which, probably, was very great, and not being satisfied rose against him and vanquished him in a great battle; after which he made himself independent of Songhay, and was successful, A'skíá, who marched against him the following year, being obliged to retrace his steps	1516	922	Kanta founds an independent kingdom in Kebbi. Starting from Birni-n-Duggul in the province of Kátsena, he took up his residence first in Gungu, then in Surámc, and finally in Léka.
	1517	923	Kanta vindicates his independence of Songhay.

* Leo heard this report evidently from merchants, and in a very exaggerated manner; for A'hmed Bábá would be guilty of inaccuracy beyond measure, if he had forgotten to mention a second expedition which Háj Mohammed, according to Leo's account, undertook three years after the first; nay, such an expedition is totally impossible, on account of the hostility of Kanta the ruler of Kebbi, who made himself independent of Songhay the second year after the expedition to Kátsena, and there was no road from Songhay to Kanó except through Kebbi.

† See Vol. I. p. 461. seq.

‡ Leo, l. vii. c. 9.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
without having obtained the slightest success. It is therefore next to impossible that A'skíá achieved the conquest of the Háusa provinces, as described by Leo.			
Háj Mohammed again visited the western part of his empire, and on the 15th Ramadhán stayed in Timbúktu. The name Songhay, not mentioned by former authors, becomes conspicuous, being employed as well by Leo as by De Barros.	1518	924	
The king resided again in Songhay Proper, and was in Sankar, a place beyond Kúkíá, when he learnt the death of his beloved brother, 'Omár Kumzághu, to whom he was so much indebted for the stability of his rule. He then invested another brother named Yáhia, with the governor- or ferengship of Kúrmina, which certainly was the most important province of the empire.	1520	926	
Háj Mohammed lost another brother, 'Omár the Túmbutu-koy (see p. 598.); and thus having been deprived of his most faithful servants, and having passed the prime of life, became the plaything of his overbearing sons, the intrigues taking a more open turn after some affair in Banku, or Bango, the character of which is not quite clear.	1521–2 1524–5	928 931	
At length affairs assumed such a serious character, that the heir-apparent, or Feréngmangha Háj Músa, the eldest son of the king, who had accompanied him on his pilgrimage, threatened to kill him; so that the aged Mohammed fled to Tindírma, and placed himself under the protection of his brother Yáhia. The latter then seems to	1527–8	934	

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
have brought about some understanding among the members of the royal family. For in the following year we find the old king again in Gágho, when Músa revolted openly against his father, and went with some of his brothers to Kúkíá. Yáhia, the feréng of Kúrmina, being again requested by his brother to interfere between him and his sons, came to Gágho, and was sent by the latter to Kúkíá, but was openly attacked by the mutinous children, and murdered. Músa, then, seeing that his father was powerless, returned to Gágho, and towards the end of the year, on the great holiday, forced him to abdicate after a reign of thirty-six years and six months. Nevertheless, he left him in his palace, while he himself stayed in his own house. Háj Mohammed A'skíá, as A'hmed Bábá says, was too great (or too mild) to rule a (turbulent) country like Songhay. That the extent of the empire, in its prime, was not exaggerated by the author of the history of Songhay, is clear from the account of Múláy A'hmed's expedition.	1528–9	935	
A'skíá Músa began his bloody and restless reign by endeavouring to murder all his brothers, and pursued them to Kúrmina, where they had taken refuge under the protection of the governor of that province, 'Othmán Jubábu, another son of Háj Mohammed; but he forced them all to decamp, together with the governor of the province himself, as well as the governor of Banku, or Bango, and other great men. The aged 'Alí Fulánu, who had accompanied El Háj Mohammed on his pilgrimage, fled to Kanó.*	1529	935	

* In this instance also it is not certain whether the town of Kanó be meant, or whether that name at the time attached only to the whole province.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Músa, having returned to Gágho, continued the attempt to murder his remaining brothers, as far as he was able to lay his hands on them, while they on their part, endeavoured to rid themselves of their tormentor, so that he had not a moment's rest.	1533	940	'Abd el Kerím ben Maghíli, from Bú 'Alí, in Tawát, the great apostle of Middle Negroland, where he is stated to have transplanted the power formerly grafted upon Songhay, is said to have died this year. If this be really the case, as it would seem to be, a former passage in my work about this distinguished man (Vol. II. p. 76.) has to be altered a little. At this period, the Portuguese sent presents to the king of Melle, who was reduced to the western provinces of his empire, and therefore is now styled Mandi Mansa, and who then waged war with Temalá (the Dámil, rey dos Fullos; see above). The Portuguese endeavoured also to open communication with the king of Mósi (el rey dos Moses), of whose power they had received reports, but from the wrong side, namely, from Benín. The king of Mósi was then waging war with the Mandi Mansa.
In this sanguinary reign, it is cheering to find that the Portuguese sent an embassy, among the other princes in the interior, also to a nephew of this Músa, king of Songhay*, from the side of Mina, or Elmina, their colony on the gold coast.	1534	941	
Músa died. Mohammed Bánkoré, son of 'Omár Kumzághu, was	1535–6	942	

* "Tamben per via da fortaleza da Mina mandarão a Mohamed bem Manzugue e neto de Mussa Rey de Songo, que de huma Cidade das mais populosas daquella grao Provincia a que nos communemente chamamos Mandinga, a qual Cidade jaz no parallelo do Cabo das palmas, mettida dentro no sertão per distancia de cento e quarenta leguas, segundo a setuaçao das taboas da nossa Geografia." — De Barros, *Asia*, l. c. p. 259. That nephew of Músa, therefore, was evidently governor of the former principal province of the kingdom of Melle. The king, says De Barros further on, was not a little surprised at the king of Portugal sending him presents. It is very probable that among these presents were the articles of Portuguese workmanship mentioned by the author of the memoir to Philip II. on the power of Múláy e' Dhéhebi, as found by the Maroccains among the spoil of Gágho. See lower down.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
made A'skíá in a place called Mansúr. This cruel prince drove the old Háj Mohammed from the royal palace, where even Músa had left him, and imprisoned him in a place called Kankáka. Mohammed Bánkoré was a warlike prince, but he was not successful in his career, nor was he a favourite with the people. He marched against Kanta, but was totally routed at a place called Wen-termása (a Berber name), and fled most ingloriously, having a very narrow escape through the waters of the Niger.			The power of the kingdom of Kebbi more firmly established. But after the death of the first Kanta, the founder of the dynasty, his two sons, Kanna and Himáddu, fight for the royal power, when Himáddu is said to have driven back the former with the aid of the Fúlbe.
He then marched against Gurma, and sent Mári Tamiza, the feréng of Dendi, against the enemy. But the latter having laid in chains all the leading men in the army, deposed the king, 2nd Dhu el Ka'da (12th April), and installed Ismá'aíl, a son of Háj Mohammed, on the throne as A'skíá.	1536	943	
Ismá'aíl brought his aged father from Kankáka back to Gágho, where he died in the night preceding the 'Aíd el Fotr, and was buried in the great mosque. In the same year Ismá'aíl went to Dire.*	1537	944	
A'skíá Ismá'aíl then marched against the Bakabóki (the chief of Bojjo?), in Gurma, and killed and carried into slavery a great many people; so that a slave in Gágho fetched not more than 300 shells.	- -	945	
A'skíá Ismá'aíl, a very energetic and much respected king, unfortunately reigned too short a period, and died after a reign of not more than two years, nine months, six	1539	946	

* This phrase, و فيها ذهب الى دير has not been translated by Mr. Ralfs.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
days, in the month of Rejeb (October or November).			
The army which had just marched out upon an expedition, made Is-hák, another son of Háj Mohammed, A'skiá, on the 16th Sha'bán. The new king proved a very stern master, the severest king who ruled over Songhay; but he made himself also respected by his enemies, even in the most distant quarter. Thus, in the third year of his reign, he marched against Yaghaba (not Baghaba), the most distant place of the sultans of Banduk, or Bennendúgu, on the	1542	949	
remotest south-westerly branch of the Niger; and two years later he waged war on the opposite side of his vast dominions against Kukurkáb (Kokoy-Kábi?)*, in the territory of Dendi.	1544	951	About this time Mohammed, the ruler of Bórnu, fought a celebrated and sanguinary battle with the king of Kebbi, probably Tómo, who founded here a new and large capital, Birní-n-Kebbi. (See Vol. II. p. 646.)
In the course of this year I's-hák sent his brother Dáúd, the feréng of Kúrmina, against Melle. The Sultan (Mansa) of Melle, who, having been reduced to the position of a tributary chief by the great Háj Mohammed, seems to have conceived the hope of making himself again independent under his successors, left his palace and fled, and Dáúd remained for seven days in the capital defiling the honour of the royal palace in the grossest manner.	1545	952	
At the same time, this energetic Songhay king showed his power to Múláy A'hmed, the powerful ruler of Morocco, who, looking about for a fresh source of strength, cast	1549	956	

* There seems little doubt that the name Kábi is here implied, although A'hmed Bábá himself uses the form Kebbi, and he adds that it was the name of a locality, "makán;" but the author had very little knowledge of these easterly regions, and, probably, did not know the relation of Kebbi—which he generally designates as the territory of Kanta—to Dendi, the name commonly given to this province east of the Niger.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
a longing eye on Negroland, and requested the A'skíá to deliver up to him the salt mines of Tegháza; whereupon I's-hák sent an army of 2000 Tawárek to Dará, who plundered the market of the Benú A'saj without shedding any blood. But the Songhay king was destined soon to succumb; and, having fallen sick, died in Kúkíá, where he had gone in the beginning of that year, on the 24th Safar (24th March), after a reign of nine years and six months, having named, as his successor, Dáúd, then governor of Kúrmina, who was fortunate enough to arrive before I's-hák's death.			
Dáúd having ascended the throne in Kúkíá one day before the death of I's-hák, returned to Gágho on the 1st Rebí I. Dáúd was a very peaceable king, and undertook no expedition at all. He resided towards the end of his life a long time in Tindírma, the capital of the province of Kúrmina, where he had a palace and kept a large establishment. A'skíá Dáúd, who is said by the Imám e' Tekrúri, as cited by De Slane*, to have imitated the example of his father Háj Mohammed, died after a reign of nearly thirty-four (lunar) years.	1553	960	Sídi 'Omár e' Sheikh, the great ancestor of the family of El Bakáy, died in the district Gídi or Igídi.
El Háj, or El Háj Mohammed, then ascended the throne, being the eldest son of Dáúd, and named after his grandfather, whom he is said to have equalled in the qualities of bravery and patient endurance, although he remained far behind in success, and was plunged from the beginning of his reign in civil war, which began to rage the very day of his accession to the throne, the	1582	990	

* De Slane, in "La Revue Africaine," i. p. 291.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Feréng Mohammed Bánkoré preparing to oppose him; but fortunately the latter was induced by the Fáki Mohammed, the Kádhi of Timbúktu, to give up his pretensions, in order to apply himself to study. He was then arrested and lodged in the state prison in Kantú.			
Then El Hádi, son of A'skíá Dáúd, and brother of El Háj, whom, as the most faithful, the king had entrusted with the government of Kúrmina, revolted, left Tindírma, and marched against the capital, Gágho. He even succeeded in entering the town in the night before the 4th Rebí-el-awel, clad in a coat of mail, and preceded by a trumpet, drum, and other insignia of royal power, while the A'skíá, who at the time was very weak and sick, was seized with fear of losing his throne; but through the aid of Híki, the governor of the powerful province of Dendi, the revolt was overcome. El Hádi was thrown into the state prison at Kantú, and all his adherents were severely punished.	1584	Safer. 992	
While the empire was thus undermined by intestine civil wars, the great enemy who was to crush it from without approached from the north; but this time the danger passed by. Múláy Hámed, or A'hmed, in order to learn the real state of affairs in Tekrúr, and especially in Songhay, whose power could not fail to attract his attention, sent an embassy with costly presents; but the A'skíá received the messengers kindly, and sent a more valuable present in return, among other articles 80 eunuchs. But shortly after the departure of this embassy, the rumour spread of Múláy Hámed having sent a large army; and			Together with Móshi, the ruler of Búsa, on the Niger, is mentioned by A'hmed Bábá under this reign as a powerful king. The power of Kebbi, therefore, probably had begun to decline.

Songhay.	A D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
this report was soon confirmed. The emperor of Morocco sent a very numerous host, said to be 20,000* strong, in the direction of Wadán, at that time the general caravan road, with the order to conquer all the places along the river (the Senegal and Niger, probably, regarded together)†, and thus to proceed towards Timbúktu, —an order which clearly shows the immense extent of the Songhay empire, even at that time: and the Imám e' Tekrúri‡ distinctly states that, even at the time of its downfall, it comprised a region of six months in extent. But this time also the danger passed by; the numbers of the army themselves causing its ruin, in consequence of hunger and thirst. In order to take at least a slight revenge, the Sultan of Morocco then sent an officer with a small troop of musketeers, to take possession of the salt-mines of Tegháza, which at that time supplied the whole of Western Negroland with that necessary article§, and thus to deprive the inhabitants of Songhay of it.‖ It was in the month of Shawál (September) that the news reached Gágho that all intercourse with those salt-mines had been cut off. It was then that people went and dug salt in Taödénni, and other places.¶			

* The number may not be much exaggerated. It was probably this example which taught Múláy Hamed that a small well disciplined army was by far more useful for such a purpose than an undisciplined host.

† Most probably the people in Morocco had a very confused idea of the relation of the two great rivers of that region, the Senegal and Niger, with the ocean; and both rivers are here meant when Múláy Hámed ordered the army

و امرهم باخذ ما هناك من البلدان على شاطى البحر

‡ Revue Africaine, i. 291.

§ The place Tegháza seems to have had a considerable population at that time, which shows the importance of this traffic. See Caillié, ii. p. 128.

‖ We see from this report the remarkable fact that the whole of Songhay at that time was provided from Tegháza, while we have seen from El Bekrí's account that in the eleventh century Songhay Proper was supplied from the mines of Taútek. The words of Bábá A'hmed الصبر عن الملح, not translated by Mr. Ralfs, can be only understood by him who has travelled in Negroland, and who knows what a precious article salt is in many regions, and what it is "to be deprived of salt."

¶ The translation of this passage by Mr. Ralfs (p. 543.) is rather defective.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
While the danger was gathering from without, a new intestine war broke out, which does not appear to testify to the great courage and energy for which A'hmed Bábá praises this A'skíá.	1586	994	The salt-mines of Tegháza shut, and those of Taödénni opened, on this occasion.*
For in the last month of this year, the brothers of El Háj A'skíá revolted, and brought Mohammed Bána, another of the numerous sons of Dáúd, with them from Kará (كَرَى ?) to Gágho, and, deposing El Háj, installed the former in his place as A'skíá, on the 4th Moharrem. El Háj, probably, notwithstanding his original bravery and energy, was suffering from disease all the time of his reign. He died (a natural death apparently) a few days after his deposition, having reigned four years and five months.	1587	995	
Immediately after the accession of Mohammed Bána to the throne, a new conspiracy was formed, issuing from the state prisoners in Kantú, especially the two pretenders, El Hádi and Mohammed Bánkoré, and aiming at the installation of Núh, another son of Dáúd, the Farma of Bantal; but the rebellion was successfully suppressed, most of the conspirators killed, and Núh, together with his brother Mústapha, whom El Háj had designated as his successor (Feréngmangha), laid in chains, and imprisoned in the province of Dendi.			
The Balmá, Mohammed e' Sádik, son of A'skíá Dáúd, having punished the oppressive governor of Kábara, and vanquished his own brother Sáleh, the Feréng of Kúrmina (24	1588	976	

* Bábá A'hmed is here very distinct, stating expressly, apparently in order to contradict current reports,—"and they dug (began to dig) here in Taödénni the salt at this period" (بهذا التاريخ *and they gave up [the salt mines of] Tegháza this time, or on this occasion*). The latter words have not been translated by Mr. Ralfs at all.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Rebí II.), and being joined by the troops of the latter, and by many other bodies of the great army of the West, the Feréng of Bághena, Mansa, the Hómborikoy, and others, left Kábara on the 1st Jumáda. A'skíá Mohammed Bána marched out of Gágho on the 12th, in order to meet the rebel, but died the same day, either from the effects of wrath, or in consequence of the heat of the weather and his own corpulency. He reigned one year, four months, and eight days.			
The day following the death of Mohammed Bána, the army having reentered the town of Gágho, I's-hák, another son of Dáúd, ascended the throne as A'skíá. But the Pretender, having been raised by his troops on his way to Gágho, to the dignity of A'skíá, pursued his march, while A'skíá I's-hák left his capital, when both armies met at a place called Kamba-Kíri, evidently only four days'* march from Gágho, where, after a violent struggle which lasted the whole day, the army of the Pretender was beaten, and he escaped towards Timbúktu. Great was the disappointment of the inhabitants of this town. They had celebrated the accession to power of their favourite, Mohammed e' Sádik, with the greatest manifestations of joy, and had even imprisoned, on the 21st, at his request, the messenger who had announced the accession of I's-hák. On the 28th, there arrived the favourite as a fugitive, who brought them the account of the unfortunate battle, and, having plunged them into deep sorrow, continued his flight, in company with the Hómborikoy, the Barakoy, by way of Tindírma, across the river to the other			

* Eighteen days' march with an army from Timbúktu, nine days for a single horseman on flight.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
side. He was, however, overtaken, and confined in the state prison at Kantú, where he was killed, together with the Barakoy; as were also the Túmbutu-koy and the I'móshaghenkoy. Of course the inhabitants of Timbúktu, having so openly favoured the proceedings of the Pretender, were severely punished, and a new Túmbutukoy, Al Hasan, the last during the Songhay period, and a new I'móshaghenkoy, were installed. A'skíá I's-hák likewise installed new governors of Banku, Bal, and Kúrmina, and confirmed others in their provinces.			
Having recovered from the severe shock inflicted upon the empire by this rebellion, A'skíá I's-hák undertook an expedition against Namandúgu, evidently the place touched at by myself on my road to Timbúktu, inhabited by pagans of the Gurma tribe, and the following year he undertook an expedition against some other part of Gurma*, —namely Tínfiri. Having thus had some respite, and consolidated his empire, he planned an expedition against Kala, the province to the north of Jinni, which it would seem had been subjected to the former A'skíá; but when about to undertake this expedition into the furthest parts of his empire, he heard of the arrival† of the Mahalla of the Bashá Jódar, a valiant eunuch of Múláy Hámed, the emperor of Morocco, with an army of 3600 musketeers, in 174 divisions of 20 each besides the officers‡; and he	1588–9 - -	997 998-999	

* The name Gurma seems to be employed here quite in a general sense.

† It is remarkable that Bábá A'hmed does not intimate at all by what road the Bashá arrived.

‡ That Jódar was a eunuch, and a native of Almeria, we learn from a Spanish source, a paper written the 16th of October, 1648, by an unknown author, in "Papeles Curiosas," of the Egerton Collection, n. 10,262, p. 235.: "Aquel valeroso Eunuco renegado natural de Almeria;" and further on, "Esta conquista hizó el famoso Jaudar, que fué celebre en Berberia como uno de los de la fama."

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
met him on the battle-field on the 18th Jumád II., but fled before him. Jódar remained only seventeen days in Gágho, when the Khatíb Mahmúd behaved in a very hostile manner towards the strangers. On visiting the palace of the A'skíá, in the presence of witnesses, he found it not equal to his expectation, and accepted the conditions of I's-hák, who offered to give him 1000 slaves and 100,000 mithkál of gold, if he gave up the conquered country. The Bashá, although he was not authorized to agree upon these conditions himself, consented to write an account of them to his liege lord, and return meanwhile to Timbúktu. He therefore wrote to Múláy Hámed, in conjunction with the Káíd A'hmed ben el Haddád, adding at the same time, in order to show his master that the conquered country was not worth a great deal, that the dwelling of the Sheikh El Harám (a very inferior personage) in Morocco excelled by far the palace of the A'skíá. But the ambitious Múláy Hámed, the friend of Philip II., who, in following the example of his friend the mighty prince of Europe, contemplated the conquest of new regions, was filled with wrath at the receipt of the despatches of his officer Jódar, deposed him on the spot, and sent the Bashá Mahmúd ben Zarkúb, accompanied by 80 musketeers, with instructions to undertake the command of the army, and drive A'skíá I's-hák out of Sudán. Meanwhile Jódar having arrived at Móse- or Bóse-Bango (the same creek of the great river where I was encamped for some time) on the last day of Jumáda II., remained encamped for thirty-five days, from the 1st Rejeb till the 6th Shábán,			

Songhay,	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
outside the town of Timbúktu*, when the term fixed for the return of his courier from Morocco having elapsed, he well saw that all was not right, and that his master was not content with his proceedings. He therefore entered the town with his soldiers, chose for himself the quarter of the Ghadámsíyín, between the gate leading to Kábara and the market, as the most densely inhabited quarter, and as containing the largest houses, for the purpose of erecting there a kasbah, driving the inhabitants out of their dwellings by force. It also seems, from another passage of A'hmed Bábá, that the Rumá shut all the gates of the town with the exception of the gate leading to Kábara, the consequence of which was that all the people, in order to enter the town or to go out of it, had to pass through or under the kasbah, so that the whole traffic and all the intercourse could easily be overawed by a limited garrison.			
On Friday, the 26th Shawál, the new Bashá Mahmúd arrived in Timbúktu, accompanied by the two káíd's, 'Abd el 'Aálí and Ham Baraka, and deposed Jódar, reproaching him bitterly for not having pursued the king I's-hák; but Jódar excused himself by pleading that he had no boats at his disposition. The first thing therefore which the Bashá Mahmúd had to do was to procure boats, the inspector of the harbour having fled with the whole fleet in the direction of Banku, or Bengu. It was on this occasion that all the trees in the town were cut down.			
On the 20th Dhú 'l Káda, the Bashá			

* Journ. Leip. Oriental Soc., ix. p. 549.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Mahmúd left Timbúktu with the whole of his army, taking the ex-bashá Jódar with him, and installing in the government of the town the káíd El Mustapha and the emír Ham from Wádí Dará. Having kept the great festival near the town in a place called Síhank (?), he marched against I's-hák, who approached with his army to make a last struggle for his kingdom and the independence of his country. But although the A'skíá seems to have been not totally devoid of energy, he could not contend against that terrible weapon which spread devastation from a great distance, for the Songhay do not seem to have possessed a single musket; and it is not impossible that the Moroccains had some small field pieces *, while the Songhay did not even know how to use the one small cannon which the Portuguese had once made them a present of, and which the Bashá afterwards found in Gágho. The consequence was, that in the battle which ensued on Monday the 25th Dhú-el Hijje, I's-hák and the Songhay were beaten, and the king fled on the road to Dendi, making a short stay in Kira-Kurma, and leaving behind him some officers, whom he ordered to make a stand in certain stations, especially the Balmá Mohammed Kágho, who had been wounded by a ball, and the Barakoy Buttu. To the latter he gave orders at the same time to make forays against the *Fullán*, a fact of the highest importance, and which, combined with another	1591	999	

* This is not certain, although further on A'hmed Bábá mentions مدافع, which Mr. Ralfs translates (p. 554.) by "Geschütz;" but the common musket being called مدفع by the Arabs in and near Timbúktu, it is not quite certain whether the author means field pieces or matchlocks.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
fact, which I shall soon bring forward, shows how this remarkable tribe, which we have seen stirring in these regions already several years previously, as soon as they saw the established government endangered, broke out in order to make use of circumstances for establishing themselves firmly in the country.			The Fúlbe or Fullán begin to play a prominent part in the history of this region.
A'skíá I's-hák wanted the Barakoy to imprison the royal princes who were in his company at the time, in order to prevent their joining the enemy, but they escaped; and he also endeavoured, in vain, to cause a diversion in his rear, by raising a revolt in Timbúktu, but his messenger was killed. The Bashá Mahmúd ben Zarkúb pursued the king, and did not halt till he reached Kúkíá, having, with him, according to A'hmed Bábá, 174 divisions of musketeers, each of twenty men*; so that, if the ranks were all filled, he had 3480 men, or, including the officers, about 3600; and these being all armed with matchlocks, there was certainly no army in Negroland able to resist them.† Seeing that a numerous undisciplined army against a well disciplined and compact band, armed with such a destructive weapon, was only a burthen, the Songhay king seems to have thought that a band of choice men, even if small in numbers, was preferable, and he therefore sent Híki Serkía, an officer of acknowledged bravery, with a body of 1200 of the best horsemen of his army, who had never fled before an enemy, to attack the Bashá.			

* In order to make out the whole numbers of the army of the Bashá, we must add the garrison of Timbúktu, which could certainly not be less than a couple of hundred men.

† It would be highly absurd to conclude, from what A'hmed Bábá says of the strength of this army, that its numbers made it so; for in numbers it was certainly a very small army for Negroland, where armies of from 30,000 to 50,000 men are a common occurrence, and the Imám e' Tekrúri says that the Songhay king had an army of 140,000 men. Revue Africaine, l. c.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
But the fate of Songhay was decided; treachery and disunion still further impaired the power which, even if well kept together, would still have had great difficulty in resisting such an enemy. When therefore that very body of cavalry rendered homage to the Balma Mohammed Kágho, in the beginning of the last year of the tenth century of the Hejra, and made him A'skíá, I's-hák seeing that all was lost, (from Dendi, where he staid at the time ?) took the direction of Kebbi.* He was, however, obliged to retrace his steps, as the Kanta, the ruler of that kingdom, which at that period was still enjoying very great power,—afraid probably of drawing upon himself the revenge of the dreaded foreign foe, who with the thunder of his musketry was disturbing the repose of Negroland; or, moved by that ancient hatred which, since the expedition to A'gades, existed between the Songhay and the inhabitants of Kebbi, —refused him admission into his dominions. I's-hák thereforere crossed the river, and went to Téra†, where his last friends took leave of him. Even the inhabitants of this very place, who have preserved their independence till the present day, were not able, or were not inclined, to defend their liege lord. "There they separated, and bade each other farewell. The king wept, and they (the courtiers) wept, and it was the last time that they saw each other." There was certainly a strong reason for weeping over the fate of Songhay.	1591-2	1000	The tribe of the Erhámena becomes powerful in the west. The Zoghorán or Jawámbe conquer great portions of the former Songhay country.

* Bábá A'hmed writes this name exactly as it is pronounced, كَبّ, while the name Kábi is never used, but must have been formerly used, as is evident, from the form Kábáwa. See page 201.

† تارا (p. 553.), not Tara. There is no doubt that the well-known Songhay town of that name (Vol. IV. Ap. V.) is meant.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
That splendid empire, which a few years back had extended from the middle of Háusa as far as the ocean, and from Mósi as far as Tawát, was gone, its king an exile and fugitive from his native land, deserted by his friends and nearest relations, had to seek refuge with his very enemies. Driven back from the Mohammedans in Kebbi, he now turned towards the pagans of Gurma, and those very inhabitants of Tínfiri upon whom he had made war two years before; and, indeed, the pagans were more merciful than the Mohammedans, and forgot their recent wrong sooner than the latter their old one; but probably the ex-king excited their fear; and, after having resided there some time, he was slain, together with his son and all his followers, in the month of Jumáda the second.			
Meanwhile there seemed to be still a slight prospect for the pretender Mohammed Kágho to save at least part of the empire, as all that remained of wealth and authority in Songhay gathered round him to do him homage; but even now the ancient family discord prevailed; and while he strengthened himself by some of his brothers, whom he liberated from prison, especially Núh, the former governor of Bantal, others among his brothers, sons of Dáúd, fled to the enemy, and, being well received, dragged after them a great many of the most influential men of the army. After this, Mohammed Kágho was induced by treachery to throw himself upon the mercy of the Bashá, from whom he received the assurance that he had nothing to fear; but he was laid in chains, and soon after executed.			
The Bashá Mahmúd, although he			

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
evidently governed the country with a strong hand, nevertheless, in the beginning at least, thought it more prudent to keep up a certain national form, and conferred the dignity of A'skíá upon the Barakoy Bultu; but the latter soon found it better to provide for his own safety by a speedy flight, and the Bashá then gave the hollow title of A'skíá to Slímán ben A'skíá Dáúd, who had been the first to put himself under his protection.			
The Bashá then went to pursue Núh, formerly governor of Bantal, who, having been liberated from his prison by Mohammed Kágho, returned to Dendi, that outlying and important province of Songhay, as soon as he saw his protector fail, and declared himself A'skíá in Dendi; but even beyond the Niger he seemed not to be safe; such was the remarkable vigour of this small Moroccain army, and the energy of its leader, under the auspices of that aspiring genius Múláy Hámed. On the frontier of Dendi, the Moroccain musketeers, within hearing of the subjects of Kanta, fought a battle with this last germ of Songhay independence, and vanquished A'skíá Núh even there; and the Bashá pursued the fugitive prince without relaxation from place to place for full two years, fighting repeated battles with him. Nay, he even built a fortress or kasbah in Kalna (?*), and placed there a garrison of 200 musketeers under the Káíd 'Omár, as if he intended			

* بلاد كلن. According to the writer, whose interesting account Macguckin de Slane has published in the "Revue Africaine," i. n. 4. p. 296., the authority of Mansúr extended as far as Kanó: nay, even the ruler of Bórnu is said to have made his subjection; but the latter assertion is very improbable, the then ruler of Bórnu being none else than the warlike and energetic Edrís A'lawóma. It is remarkable, however, that that author mentions Kanó without saying anything about Kebbi, which was the neighbouring kingdom, intervening between Songhay and Kanó, and at that time very powerful.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
to hold possession for ever of this distant province for his master in Morocco. This is a highly interesting fact. But a small spark of native independence nevertheless remained behind in this province, from whence the Moroccains, after the first energetic impulse was gone, were forced to fall back. While the Bashá himself was thus waging relentless war against the nucleus and the eastern part of the Songhay empire, the conquest and destruction of national independence was going on no less in the west. The great centre of national feeling and of independent spirit in that quarter was Timbúktu, a town almost enjoying the rank of a separate capital, on account of the greater amount of Mohammedan learning therein concentrated. It was on account of this feeling of independence, probably, that the inhabitants would not bear the encroachments of the Káíd el Mústapha upon their liberty, especially as he wanted to fill from his own choice, after the death of Yáhia, the place of the Túmbutu-koy, or Túmbutu-mangha, as he is here called, the office of the native governor. Thus a bloody tumult arose in the town, when the Tárki chief Ausamba came to the assistance of the distressed Káíd, probably from motives of plunder; and thus the whole town was consumed by flames, it being a dreadful day for the inhabitants. Nay, the enraged Káíd, who had now got the upper hand, wanted to slaughter them all; but the Káíd Mámi succeeded in re-establishing peace between the inhabitants and El Mústapha; and quiet and comfort began to return; so that even those who had emigrated again returned to their na-			

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
tive homes. Even the inspector of the harbour, who had retired to the province of Banku, or Bengu, came back with the fleet. The communication therefore with Jinni and the region on the upper course of the river was reopened.			
Having then made a successful expedition against the Zoghorán, who devastated the districts of Bara and Dirma, and inflicted upon them a most severe punishment, the Káíd Mámi went himself to Jinni, which had suffered a great deal from the devastating incursions of the pagan Bámbara, and took up his residence for a time in the palace of the Jinnikoy. Having then installed 'Abd-Allah ben 'Othmán as governor of Jinni, and arranged matters in that distant place, he returned to Timbúktu. Samba Lámido ("lámido" means "governor"), evidently a Púllo, in Danka, or Denga, devastated many of the places on the Rás el má, and committed great havoc and bloodshed.			The Bámbara appear as a conquering race.
Thus the Moroccains had conquered almost the whole of this extensive empire, from Dendi as far as, and even beyond, Jinni; for they even took possession of part of Bághena, and conquered the whole province of Hómbori, or, as it is called from its rocky character, Tóndi or El Hajri, to the south of the river. Nay, they even conquered part of Tombo, the strong native kingdom inclosed between Hómbori, Mósi, Jinni, and Jimballa. They had their chief garrisons in Jinni, Timbúktu, Bámba, which on this account received the name Kasbah, in Gágho, and Kalna in Dendi; and their chief strength consisted in intermarrying with the natives, and thus producing a distinct class			

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
of people, who, as Ermá, or Rumá, are distinguished to this very day; while the peculiar dialect of Songhay, which they speak, has been produced lately as a distinct language by M. Raffenel.* But these half-castes soon found all their interest in their new abode, and cared little for Morocco; so that the advantage which the latter country drew from this conquest was only of a very transitory character. Certainly, there was some sort of order established; but there was no new organization, as it seems; the old forms being preserved, and soon becoming effete. On the whole, we cannot but admire the correctness of the following passage of Bábá A'hmed, who says: "Thus this Mahalla, at that period, found in Sudán (Songhay) one of those countries of the earth which are most favoured with comfort, plenty, peace, and prosperity everywhere; such was the working of the government of the Emír el Múmenín, A'skíá el Háj Mohammed ben A'bú Bakr, in consequence of his justice and the power of his royal command, which took full and peremptory effect, not only in his capital, but in all the districts of his whole empire, from the province of Dendi to the frontiers of Morocco, and from the territory of Bennendúgu (to the south of Jinni) as far as Tegháza and Tawát. But in a moment all was changed, and peaceful repose was succeeded by a constant state of fear, comfort and security by trouble and suffering; ruin and misfortune took the place of prosperity, and people began every-			

* See p. 431.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
where to fight against each other, and property and life became exposed to constant danger; and this ruin began, spread, increased, and at length prevailed throughout the whole region." Thus wrote old Bábá Ah'med, who had himself lost everything in consequence of that paramount calamity which had befallen his native land, and who had been carried a prisoner to the country of the conqueror, till, owing to the unbounded respect which the enemy himself felt for the learning and sanctity of the prisoner, he was released, and allowed to return to Songhay, where he seems to have finished his days, by endeavouring to console himself, for the loss of all that was dear to him, with science, and in writing the history of his unfortunate native country.			The kingdoms of Asianti and Dahóme begin to become powerful.
Múláy Hámed el Mansúr, the conqueror of Songhay, died.	1603	1012	
Zédán, his youngest son is proclaimed sultan; but has to sustain a long struggle against his brothers 'Abd-Alla and Sheikh; and after an unfortunate battle on the 8th December, is driven beyond the limits of Morocco, when *Sheikh* is recognised for a limited period. All these changes could not fail to exercise an immediate influence upon the government of Songhay, which had now become a province of Morocco.*	1607	1016	
Múláy Zédán died.	1630	1040	
Múláy 'Abd el Melek succeeds him: is assassinated.			

* I had no time to excerpt this latter part of Bábá A'hmed's history, but it is full of information with regard to this turbulent period.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Múláy Wálid succeeds him.	1635	1045–6	
	1637	1048	The French make a settlement on the Senegal.
The history of Songhay, composed by A'hmed Bábá. Great inundation in Timbúktu, in consequence of the high level attained by the river.	1640	1050	The Tademékket are driven out of their former seats and deprived of their supremacy by the Awelímmid or A'welímmiden (the Lamta), who formerly had been settled in Igídi with the Welád Delém, with whom they were allied. Karidénne, the son of Shwásh and of a wife from the tribe of the Tademékket, murdered the chief of the latter tribe, and drove them out of A'derár, when they went westward and implored the protection of the Bashá, who assigned them new seats round about the backwaters between Timbúktu and Gúndam.
Múláy A'hmed Sheikh succeeds to Múláy Wálid; but is soon after killed in a revolt.	1647	1057	
Króm el Háji usurps the throne: is soon after assassinated.	1654–5	1065	
Múláy Mohammed, son of Múláy 'Alí, the founder of the Filáli dynasty, dethroned by his brother E' Rashíd: E' Rashíd takes possession of the town of Morocco.	1664	1075–8	
Sídi 'Alí, governor of Sús, takes refuge in Songhay*—a proof that the garrison stationed there had made themselves quite independent of Morocco at that time, notwithstanding the energetic rule of E' Rashíd, who died	1667 1672	1078–9 1083	About this period the Welád Bille, in Tishít, possessed great power.

* Here again Jackson (*Account of Morocco*, p. 295.) has made a most erroneous statement, saying that Sídi 'Alí escaped into Súdán, where the king of Bámbara received him hospitably, so that 'Alí was enabled to collect 8000 black warriors, with whom he marched against Morocco; and that these blacks were the means by which Ismáíl obtained influence in Timbúktu.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Múláy Ismáàíl succeeds him, but without being able to establish his power over all parts of the empire. It is very remarkable, that this king formed a standing army of Negroes, especially Songhay, whom he married to Moroccain women, in order to rule his own subjects; just in the same manner as a body of Moroccain soldiers intermarrying with Negro women dominated Songhay. These were the "'abíd mt'a Sídi Bokhári."*	1672	1083	Hennún, the son of Bóhedal, chief of the Welád Mebárek, received the investiture as ruler of Bághena from Ismáàíl.
Múláy A'hmed, the nephew of Múláy Ismáàíl, governor of Dara and Sús, undertook an expedition into Súdán, with a large body of troops, and although he lost 1500 men in crossing the desert, brought back a rich spoil in gold and slaves, principally from a place called *Tagaret*, which it is not easy to identify, especially as it is said that he found there a king of Súdán. It is probably a place in Tagazet, most likely Tejígja. There is no mention of a garrison dependent upon Morocco. In this same year Timbúktu is said to have been conquered by the Mandingoes (Bámbara ?).	1680	1091	About this time Sóba, the mighty king of Góber, residing in Mághale, one day W. of Chéberi, makes warlike expeditions beyond the Kwára.
Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi succeeds to the aged Ismáàíl. Although his reign lasted only two years, and he was constantly engaged in civil war, he is said to have made an expedition into Súdán, from whence he brought back great treasures.† But this is evidently a confused statement, and probably refers to the deeds of his elder namesake, Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi.	Mar. 22, 1727	1140–1	

* There is great confusion in an article concerning this subject in a letter addressed by Jackson to Sir James Bankes, in the Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i. p. 366. Here the annual tribute which Timbúktu paid to this king is estimated at 5,000,000 dollars. The same sort of exaggeration we find in all Jackson's statements.

† Even the very meritorious Gråberg de Hemsö, in his *Specchio di Marocco*, p. 269., repeats this statement.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Múláy 'Abd-Alla succeeds to the throne. Constant civil war in the beginning of his reign.	1729	1142–3	
	1740	1153	About this time the Kél-owí take possession of A'ír or A's-ben.
Sídi Mohammed built Swéra or Mogadór.	1757	1171–2	Babári, powerful king in Góber.
	1770	1184	'Abd el Káder produces a religious revolution in Fúta, combined, perhaps, with a reaction of the Wolof against the conquerors*, or rather of the race of the Toróde,—the Wolof intermixed with the Fúlbe—against the element Málinké and Púllo. Sáttigi Sambalámu, the last of the Sóltana Deniankóbe. The order of the succession is as follows:— Chéro Solimán Bal, Almáme 'Abdu, Almáme Mukhtár, Almáme Bú-bakr, Almáme Shíray, Almáme Yúsuf, Almáme Birán, Almáme Hammád, Almáme Makhmúdo, Almáme Mohammed el Amín, son of Mohammed Birán.
About this time Gógo, which had hitherto been ruled by the Rumá, was conquered by the Tawárek tribe of the Awelímmiden. Probably in consequence of this event, A'gades, having been deprived of its commercial resources, begins to decline.			
The chief Káwa, who rules seventy years over the Awelímmiden, establishes a powerful dominion on the north bank of the Niger (A'usa).	1780	1195	Venture collects his information from two Moroccain merchants. Tombo very powerful. Marka, the Aswánek, in Bághena. Kawár, the Fúlbe, in Másina.
Timbúktu, according to the very doubtful statement of Shabíni†, under the supremacy of Háusa. If this were true, it would be a very important fact; but it is evidently a mistake, A'usa being meant.	1787	1202–3	About this period falls the quarrel between the Sheikh El Mukhtár el kebír and the Welád Bille, the former overthrowing the latter with the assistance of the Méshedúf and the A'hel Zenághi.

* See M. le Colonel Faidherbe, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr.* 1850.
† Shabíni, p. 12.

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
Timbúktu, under the sovereignty of Mansong, at that time king of Bámbara [very questionable].* Professor Ritter † supposes the Moors to have been ejected at that time, so that Timbúktu became an independent Negro town.	1803–4	1218	El Mukhtár opens friendship with 'Othmán dan Fódie, the Jihádi, who this year entered into open hostility against Bawa, the king of Góber, and brought about that immense revolution in the whole centre of Negroland. About this period a great struggle between the Awelímmiden and the Tademékket.
	1804	1219	The Fúlbe make Gandó, in Kebbi, the seat of their operations.
Mungo Park navigates the Niger.	1805–6	1220–1	The Rumá, still powerful between Sébi and Timbúktu, dominate the passage of the Niger.
	1811	1226	Sídi Mukhtár dies.
Mohammed or A'hmed Lebbo brings the religious banner from Gandó: and gradually acquires the supremacy in Másina over the native chiefs.	1816	1232–3	Great and sanguinary battle between the Songhay, Rumá, and Berabísh on the one side, and the Awelímmiden on the other, near the island Kúrkozay.
	1817	1233	Sheikh 'Othmán dan Fódie before his death divides his extensive dominions between his brother 'Abd-Alláhi and his son Bello, the former receiving all the western provinces along the Niger, with Gandó as his capital, the latter the south-easterly provinces, with Sókoto.
Lebbo commences hostilities with Mohammed Galáijo, the chief of Konári, vanquishes him, and forces him to retreat eastward.	1820	1236–7	Constant war between Másina and Bámbara.

* Proceedings of the African Association, ii. p. 322.
† Ritter, Erdkunde von Afrika, p. 446. seq., especially from Sídi Hámed's statement (p. 363.).

Songhay.	A.D.	A.H.	Neighbouring Kingdoms.
The Fúlbe of Másina occupy Timbúktu in the beginning of the year. Major Laing left 'En-Sálah on the 10th of January; was attacked, and almost slain, in Wádi Ahennet, on the 27th (?) by a party of Tawárek; was received very kindly by Sídi Mohammed, the son of Sídi Mukhtár, in the hillet e' Sheikh Sídi Mukhtár, in A'zawád. Sídi Mohammed died in consequence of a contagious fever. Laing left this place about August 12th; arrived at Timbúktu, August 18th; being ordered out of the town by the Fúlbe, he left that place on September 22nd, under the protection of A'hmed Weled 'Abéda; and was murdered by him and Hámed Weled Habíb, probably on the 24th.	1826	1242–3	
The Sheikh El Mukhtár, the son and successor of Sídi Mohammed, settles in Timbúktu.	1827	1243	'Abd-Alláhi, the ruler of Gandó, dies. Is succeeded by his son Mohammed Wáni.
Caillié stays in Timbúktu from the 20th April till the 3rd May.	1828	1244	
The Fúlbe enter Timbúktu with a stronger force.	1831	1247	
	1836	1250	Khalílu succeeds to the empire of Gandó.
The Tawárek conquer the Fúlbe. The Fúlbe, under 'Abd-Alláhi, make a great expedition along the Niger as far as Burrum.	1844	1260	
Lebbo dies. His son A'hmedu succeeds him.	1846	1262	
Sheikh El Mukhtár dies in the month Rebí el áwel; El Bakáy succeeds him.	1848	1264	
	1851	1268–9	The Kél-gerés kill e' Nábegha, the chief of the Awelímmiden, at Tintaláít.
The young A'hmedu succeeds his father A'hmedu.	1852–3	1269	
The Fúlbe make a great expedition against Timbúktu.	1855	1272–3	The Igwádaren opposed to the Awelímmiden.

APPENDIX X.

FRAGMENTS OF A METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. Nov.			
25	sunrise	41	Outside Kúkawa at the village Kalí-luwa.
	1.30 p.m.	91	
27	sunrise	50	
	sunset	74	
28	sunrise	52	
	1.15 p.m.	91	
	sunset	81	
29	sunrise	64	
	1.30	93	
	sunset	81	
30	sunrise	58·5	
Dec.			
1	sunrise	57·5	
	2 p.m.	87	
	sunset	77	
2	sunrise	59	
	sunset	75	
3	sunrise	52	
	2 p.m.	88	Heavy E. gale.
4	sunrise	51	
	1 p.m.	88	
	sunset	77	
5	sunrise	47	
	1.30 p.m.	94	
	sunset	82·3	
6	No observation.		
7	1.30 p.m.	81·2	
	sunset	70·2	
8	sunrise	52	Heavy northerly gale.
	sunset	69·5	
9	sunrise	48	
	2 p.m.	82·5	
1852 Dec.			
9	sunset	75	
10	sunrise	56	Foggy in the morning.
	sunset	73 5	
11	sunrise	54	
	sunset	75	
12	sunrise	53	
	sunset	72·5	
13	1.20 p.m.	84	
14	1.45 p.m.	83	
15	sunrise	57	
	1.30 p.m.	81	
	sunset	76	
16	1.30 p.m.	83	
	sunset	72·30	
17 to 18	No observation.		
19	1.30 p m.	81	
	sunset	73	
20	sunrise	50	
21	sunrise	52	Cold N.E. gale; very heavy.
	1.40 p.m.	77	
22	sunrise	40	Very cold, but no wind.
23	- -	-	Foggy morning.
24	sunrise	55	
25	sunrise	43	
	1.30 p.m.	78	
26	sunset	72	
27 to 31	No observation.		Sky all this time cloudy.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. Jan.			
1	sunset	73	
2	sunrise	55	
3 to 10	No observation		
11	1.30 p.m.	85	Fine morning.
12	sunrise	56	Fine morning.
	1.30 p.m.	87·5	
13	sunrise	54	Strong wind.
	2 p.m.	75	
14	sunrise	54	
	1.30 p.m.	76	
15	sunrise	51	
	1.30 p.m.	76	
16	sunrise	55	
17	sunrise	57	
	1.30 p.m.	77	
18	sunrise	55	
	1.30 p.m.	77	
19	sunrise	57	
	2 p.m.	80	
	sunset	71·5	
20	sunrise	56·5	
21	2 p.m.	86	
22	sunrise	56	Cold wind.
	2 p.m.	75	
23	sunrise	47·2	
	1.30 p.m.	75	
24	sunrise	50·4	
	2 p.m.	80·2	
25	sunrise	50	
	1.45 p.m.	85·7	Fine day.
26	sunrise	48·5	
	1.45 p.m.	85·2	
27	sunrise	51·5	
	1.50 p.m.	89·4	
28	sunrise	59·6	
	1.45 p.m.	89·5	
29 30	No observation		
31	sunset	75	
Feb.			
1	sunrise	59·5	
2 to 24	sunrise	58–60	
	1.30 p.m.	90	
	sunset	76	
1853. Feb.			
25	- -	-	In the evening heat-lightning towards N.
26	- -	-	Cloudy, the sun shining forth at times; in the afternoon the whole sky towards the S. overcast with thick clouds; in the evening cool and fresh as if after a rain. Heat-lightning.
27	- -	-	Windy.
March			
3	1.15 p.m.	95	
9	1.30 p.m.	96	
10	sunrise	66	
11	sunset	85	Cloudy; heavy gale.
12	sunrise	75	Clear.
	2 p.m.	97	
	sunset	92	The evening and the following night very sultry.
13	sunrise	72	
	1.30 p.m.	92	The whole day heavy gale.
14	sunrise	70	
	2 p.m.	92	
15	sunrise	70	Weather clear.
	sunset	88	
16	sunrise	72	
	2 p.m.	96	
17	sunrise	72	Fine morning.
	2 p.m.	96·5	
	sunset	91·5	
18	sunrise	72	Fine morning.
	2 p.m.	98·3	
19	sunrise	75	
	2 p.m.	99	
	sunset	92	
20	sunrise	72	Very fine morning.
	2 p.m.	98·5	

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. March			
20	sunset	92	
21	sunset	90	
22	1.15 p.m.	101	
23	sunrise	74	
	2 p.m.	106	
24	1.30 p.m.	103·5	
25	1.15 p.m.	100·5	
26	No observation.		
27	3 p.m.	100	
28	3 p.m.	103	
29	sunrise	79·5	
30	sunrise	81	
	2.15 p.m.	103·5	
	5.30 p.m.	-	Heavy gale, sky thickly overcast; no rain with us, but heat-lightning.
31	No observation.		
April			
1	8 p.m.	-	Sky thickly overcast; thunder-storm the following night, but no rain.
2	- -	-	Sky thickly overcast in the morning; a few drops of rain.
3	- -	-	(Some rain early in the morning.)
4	1.30 p.m.	(94)	In the cool hall of a clay house.
		104·5	In shade outside.
	sunset	80	
5	sunrise	70	
	1.30 p.m.	(95)	
		105·7	
6	sunrise	71·3	
7	1.30 p.m.	(95)	
		105·7	
	sunset	94	
8	sunrise	77·5	
	sunset	90	
9	sunrise	72	
	1.30 p.m.	105·7	
	sunset	89	
1853. April			
10	sunrise	68	
	2 p.m.	106	
	sunset	89	
11	sunrise	70	
	1.30 p.m.	105	
	sunset	85	
12	sunrise	64	
	1.30	106	
	2 p m.	108	
13	sunrise	66	
	2 p.m.	109	
	sunset	90	
14	sunrise	77	
	2 p.m.	107·5	
	2.45	110	
	sunset	93	
15	sunrise	77·4	Strong wind.
	2 p.m.	108	
	sunset	95	
16	sunrise	81	
	2 p.m.	110·5	
17	sunrise	72	
	2 p.m.	110·5	
	sunset	93	
18	sunrise	77	
	2 p.m.	108·5	Sky towards W. overcast with clouds.
	sunset	94	
19	sunrise	80	
	2 p.m.	106·5	
	sunset	93	4.30 p.m. a few drops of rain.
20	sunrise	79	Sky overcast.
21	2 p.m.	103	
	sunset	98	
22	sunrise	78	
	2 p.m.	102	
	sunset	95	
23	sunrise	78	
24	2 p.m.	106·5	
	sunset	93	Cloudy in the afternoon.
25	sunrise	82	
	2 p.m.	106	Sky overcast.
	sunset	96	
26	sunrise	81·7	Thunder - clouds from east, only a

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. April			few drops of rain; heat-lightning.
26	2 p.m.	106	
	sunset	95	
27	sunrise	82	
	2 p.m.	110	
	sunset	97	
28	2 p.m.	110	
	sunset	98	
29	sunrise	83	
	sunset	98·5	
30	sunrise	85	
	2 p.m.	110	In the afternoon a thunder - storm rose from E. 5.15 p.m. heavy gale and a little rain.
	sunset	92	
May 1	sunrise	82	
	2 p.m.	109	During the night heavy wind, but no rain.
	sunset	97	
2	sunrise	80	
	2 p.m.	106	
	sunset	98	
3	sunrise	82	
	2 p.m.	109	During the night wind, heat-lightning.
4	sunrise	82	
	2 p.m.	108	In the afternoon sky cloudy; in the evening heat-lightning.
	sunset	98	
5	sunrise	81·5	
	2 p.m.	105	Sky overcast and cloudy, but no rain.
	sunset	97	
6	sunrise	83	
	2 p.m.	106	
	sunset	98	9 o'clock, p.m. all on a sudden, a heavy shower, lasting abont one hour.
1853. May 7	sunrise	77	Air refreshed; windy.
	2 p.m.	101	
8	No observation.		No rain.
9	sunrise	80	
	2 p.m.	109	
	sunset	95	
10	sunrise	84	
	2 p.m.	105	
	sunset	102	A most oppressive and disagreeable evening.
11	sunrise	82·5	
	2 p.m.	104	
	snnset	86	About sunset thunder-storm from N.; good fall of rain lasting abont one hour, refreshing the air.
12	sunrise	76	
	2 p.m.	103	
13	sunrise	99	In the afternoon thunder - storm with very heavy rain.
	snnset	96·5	
14	sunrise	75	
15	No observation.		
16	sunrise	80·5	
	sunset	93	In the afternoon clonds.
17	sunrise	79	Clouds towards the S. (Gandó.)
18	No observation.		
19	2 p.m.	104	Fine cool morning; in the afternoon thunder-storm, but no rain.
	sunset	92·3	
20	- -	-	In the afternoon thnnder - storm from N.; after snnset a slight

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. May			shower with us, lasting about half an hour.	1853.			rain, lasting till late at night.
21	sunrise	80·5		June			
22	sunrise	83·5		1	sunrise	73·5	
	2 p.m.	102			2 p.m.	90	Sky gloomy.
	sunset	92			sunset	86	
23	sunrise	82·5		2	sunrise	76	
	2 p.m.	104			7 a.m.	73	Thick clouds gathering. From 7.30 a.m. rain half an hour tolerably heavy, then gentle till 9 o'clock, when the sun shone forth.
	4 p.m.	99	About 4 p.m. thunder-storm from N. with moderate rain about 5 o'clock.				
	5 p.m.	79					
24	sunrise	78	A slight fall in the morning; cloudy.		2 p.m.	90	
					sunset	87	
	2 p.m.	95		3	sunrise	77	A thunder-storm in the distance.
	sunset	88					
25	sunrise	78·5			2 p.m.	92	
	2 p.m.	107	About 4 p.m. thunder-storm in the S.		sunset	89	
				4	sunrise	73	In the night thunder-storm, with much rain, lasting till late in the morning.
	sunset	92					
26	sunrise	77·5	Early in the morning a few drops of rain.	5	sunrise	78	Thunder-storm gathered from E.; 6.5 a.m. it began raining, the first hour heavy, then gentle till about 9 o'clock. Thunder-storm late in the evening, with a few drops of rain.
	2 p.m.	96			7 a.m.	73	
	sunset	89					
27	sunrise	78	Early in the morning a slight thunder-storm with a little rain; the whole day sky overcast.				
	sunset	84					
28	sunrise	79		6	No observation.		Fine morning.
	sunset	90·5		7	- -		8 a.m. the sun broke through the clouds.
29	sunrise	80					
	2 p.m.	94·4					
	sunset	82·4			2 p.m.	91	
30	sunrise	75	Early in the morning a little rain.		sunset	84·5	
				8	sunrise	75	Very fine morning.
	sunset	89·5		9	- -	-	About 3 o'clock in the morning a moderate shower.
31	sunrise	79·5					
	2 p.m.	99	At 5 p.m. thunder-storm accompanied by heavy	10	- -	-	About midnight from 10th to 11th

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. June			a little rain accompanied by heat - lightning, but no thunder-storm.
11	- -	-	In the afternoon thunder - clouds gathering, but the rain went southwards.
12	- -	-	At 4½ o'clock a.m. a thunder-storm gathering from E., followed by violent rain.
13	No observation.		
14	sunset	98	
15	sunrise	87	
16	No observation.		The following night a little rain.
17	- -	-	The sun broke through the clouds about 8 a.m.
18	- -	-	Fine morning; in the afternoon thunder - storm from the E. passed by.
19	- -	-	About 4 o'clock p.m. thunder-storm from the E., but no rain.
20	- -	-	In the afternoon thunder - storm at some distance. (Say.)
21	- -	-	In the afternoon overcast. After sunset a thunder-storm gathered from E.N.E., refreshing the air; much wind but no rain.
22	- -	-	In the following night thunder-storm, but no rain.
1853. June			
23	- -	-	The sky clearer.
	1.30 p.m.	100	
24	- -	-	Sky overcast. 7 a.m. severe thunder-storm gathered, setting in with a violent gale, followed by heavy rain, lasting about three hours.
	sunset	84	
25	sunrise	73·5	Fine morning.
26	- -	-	Cloudy and stormy.
27	- -	-	Sky thickly overcast, the clouds proceeding from N. 6.45 a.m. to 7.25 moderate rain, afterwards gentle till 9 o'clock.
28	- -	-	Sky overcast. About noon a few drops. About 1.30 p.m. heavy rain.
29	- -	-	Sky thickly overcast in the morning, afterwards cleared up.
30	- -	-	Fine morning, tolerably clear. In the afternoon a thunder-storm in the distance; late in the evening a second one gathered from E. and reached us after 11 o'clock, with extraordinary force for the first hour, then more gentle till 2 o'clock a.m.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. July				1853. July			
1	No observation.						S., but not a drop of rain.
2	- -	-	Sky about noon thickly overcast and atmosphere oppressive; cleared up in the afternoon.	15	- -	-	In the afternoon again thunder-storm without a drop of rain.
				16	- -	-	Cool.
3	- -	-	Clear.	17	- -	-	After 2 p.m. thunder-storm in the distance, the whole sky becoming gradually overcast. From 5.15 p.m. moderate rain till 8.30, and afterwards a slight fall.
4	No observation.						
5	- -	-	Sky overcast. 8.30 a.m. a thunder-storm gathered, accompanied by violent rain till 9.45, afterwards lasting with intermission till 12.30.				
				18	- -	-	Atmosphere refreshed. In the evening moderate rain.
6	- -	-	Fine weather.				
7	No observation.						
8	- -	-	In the afternoon a heavy thunder-storm, but no rain.	19	- -	-	At 2 p.m. considerable rain, with frequent interruptions, but no thunder-storm,
9	- -	-	Sky overcast, rainy. 10 a.m. the sun broke through the clouds.	20	- -	-	Sky in the morning very cloudy, but no rain.
10	- -	-	4 p.m. a thunder-storm gathered from N. proceeded westward, bringing us only a few drops.	21	- -	-	Wind westerly; no rain.
				22	- -	-	At 7.40 a.m. a black thunder-storm gathering from the E., followed by moderate rain lasting till 10 o'clock.
	sunset	80					
11	- -	-	In the afternoon a thunder-storm, but only a few drops of rain.				
12	- -	-	No thunder-storm; windy. (Libtáko.)	23	- -	-	Sky mostly overcast. About 5 p. m. thunder-storm towards N. W., then turned by E. towards S., and reached us about 8 p.m. again from
13	- -	-	During the following night heavy thunder-storm, but no rain here.				
14	- -	-	About 4 o'clock p.m. thunder-storm towards				

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. July			
			the W.; first moderate rain, afterwards very heavy, but not accompanied by wind, continuing till 11 o'clock at night.
24	- -	-	Fine sunny day; no rain.
25	- -	-	Clear.
26	- -	-	About 2 a.m. heavy thunder - storm, followed by rain lasting till 7 o'clock.
27	- -	-	Late in the evening thunder-storm followed after midnight by moderate rain, at times interrupted.
28	- -	-	At 6.30 a.m. a heavy thunder-storm gathering from E., followed by heavy rain, lasting till noon. Sky did not clear up till near sunset.
29	- -	-	Clear.
30	- -	-	Heavy dew at night, fine morning, scarcely a cloud to be seen.
			At 9 o'clock p.m. a violent thunder-storm with heavy rain.
31	- -	-	The sun broke through the clouds about 7 a.m., and the day remained fine till 3 o'clock p.m., when the clouds gathered, and at 4

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853.			
			p.m. were followed by a very heavy shower, lasting about ¾ hour with the utmost violence, after which it became more moderate, lasting till long after midnight.
Aug. 1	- -	-	In the afternoon clondy, but no rain.
2	- -	-	Very fine day, but the heat gradually oppressive; clouds gathering in the afternoon. At 9 o'clock p.m. heavy gusts of wind and moderate rain till morning.
3	- -	-	At 2 p.m. thunder-storm in S.W.; about 9 p.m. violent thunder-storm with heavy rain, lasting about ½ hour, followed by a second rain very slight, but lasting till morning.
4	- -	-	At 4.40 p.m. a heavy shower lasting till 4.55.
5	- -	-	Clear.
6	- -	-	In the evening thunder - storm with heavy rain.
7	- -	-	No rain.
8	- -	-	Clear.
9	- -	-	Sky overcast.
10	- -	-	7 p.m. a very violent thunder-

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. Aug.			storm with heavy gusts of wind and much rain.
11	- -	-	No rain.
12	- -	-	4 o'clock p.m. a thunder - storm from the E., with rain lasting about ¾ hour, first violent, afterwards becoming more moderate.
13	- -	-	In the afternoon thunder - storm towards the S.
14	- -	-	7 a.m. dark thunder - clouds gathered from N., bringing a little rain, and the electric matter not having been discharged a very sultry day followed.
15	- -	-	The whole day thunder - storm towards N. and W.
16	- -	-	Past midnight a violent thunder-storm gathered, followed by moderate rain, and another fall of rain towards morning.
17	- -	-	At 4½ c'clock p.m. a little rain.
18	No observation.		
19	- -	-	In the night thunder-storm but no rain.
20	No observation.		
21	- -	-	Clear but very warm.
22	- -	-	After 6 p.m. a heavy thunder-
1853. Aug.			storm from E., with much wind, but moderate rain; the air not much refreshed.
23	- -	-	Warm sunny day.
24, 25	No observation.		
29	- -	-	A thunder-storm; heat - lightning without rain.
30	- -	-	At noon a thunder - storm from the east. 12.45 a little rain. The rain clouds went from S. to W., then turned northwards; in that direction much rain.
31	- -	-	Morning cool; in the evening a thunder - storm without rain in our neighbourhood.
Sept. 1	- -	-	In the evening the sky thickly overcast; thunder-storm gathered, only a few drops of rain, heavy gale.
2	No observation.		
3	- -	-	3 p.m. a thunder-storm as in general, from the E. 3.3 tolerably heavy rain, only three minutes. 4.35 p.m. a second thunder-storm.
4	- -	-	Heat-lightning in the evening; heavy gale.
5	- -	-	Heavy westerly gale.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. Sept.			
6, 7	No observation.		(Timbúktu.)
8	- -	-	In the evening thunder - storm with heavy clouds, but without rain.
9	- -	-	In the evening heavy thunder-storm from the N.; violent rain from 8 to 8.30 p.m., then less severe till 11.5; afterwards heavy gale.
10	- -	-	In the afternoon a little rain.
11	- -	-	Sky in the afternoon thickly overcast.
12, 13	- -	-	Cloudy.
14	- -	-	2.5 p.m. a little rain; afterwards thunder - storm and considerable rain.
15	- -	-	The clouds driven about by a storm.
16	- -	-	Greater part cloudy.
17	- -	-	Tolerably clear.
18	- -	-	2 p.m. very violent gale, followed by considerable rain.
19	- -	-	Fine morning.
20	- -	-	Early in the morning heavy gale with a few drops of rain; air became cooler.
21	- -	-	Tolerably clear.
22	- -	-	At 7 o'clock p.m. a thunder-storm with moderate rain.
23	- -	-	Heavy gale.
1853. Sept.			
24	- -	-	Clearer.
25	- -	-	Sunrise not clear; afterwards windy.
26	- -	-	In the evening thunder - storm without rain.
27	- -	-	Sky not clear. About noon a gale arose.
28	- -	-	Towards morning a little rain; sky thickly overcast; several times rain, especially in the afternoon; in the evening considerable rain.
29	- -	-	1.30 p.m. heavy rain, but short. 8 p.m. another fall of rain, moderate, but lasting till 11 o'clock.
30, Oct. 1	No observation.		
2	- -	-	In the afternoon thunder - storm passed by towards the W. without bringing rain.
3	- -	-	3.33 p.m. thunder-storm with heavy rain, lasting more than an hour.
4 to 7	- -	-	Clear.
8	- -	-	4 o'clock p.m. thunder - storm towards the N.
9	- -	-	4 p.m. rain with interruption.
10	- -	-	Sky not clear.
11, 12	- -	-	Clear.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1853. Oct.				1853. Oct.			
13	- -	-	Overcast; at 4 p.m. a thunder-storm from the N. with heavy gale, but only a few drops of rain.	24	No observation.		
				25	- -	-	Very cold night.
				26	- -	-	Clear cold morning.
				27 to Nov. 24	No observation.		Tolerably clear.
14							
15	- -	-	Cloudy in the east.				
16				25	sunrise	56	
17	- -	-	In the afternoon cloudy.		sunset	76	
				26	sunrise	56	
18	- -	-	Night cool; fine morning.	27	sunrise	63	
				28	sunrise	62	
19	- -	-	Cool night.	30	- -	-	Very cold; heavy northerly gale.
20	No observation.						
21	- -	-	The morning cloudy; N. E. gale.				Month of December no rain; sky generally dull in the morning, only occasionally clear.
22	- -	-	N.E. wind.				
23	- -	-	Clear; gradually N.E. wind arose.				

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